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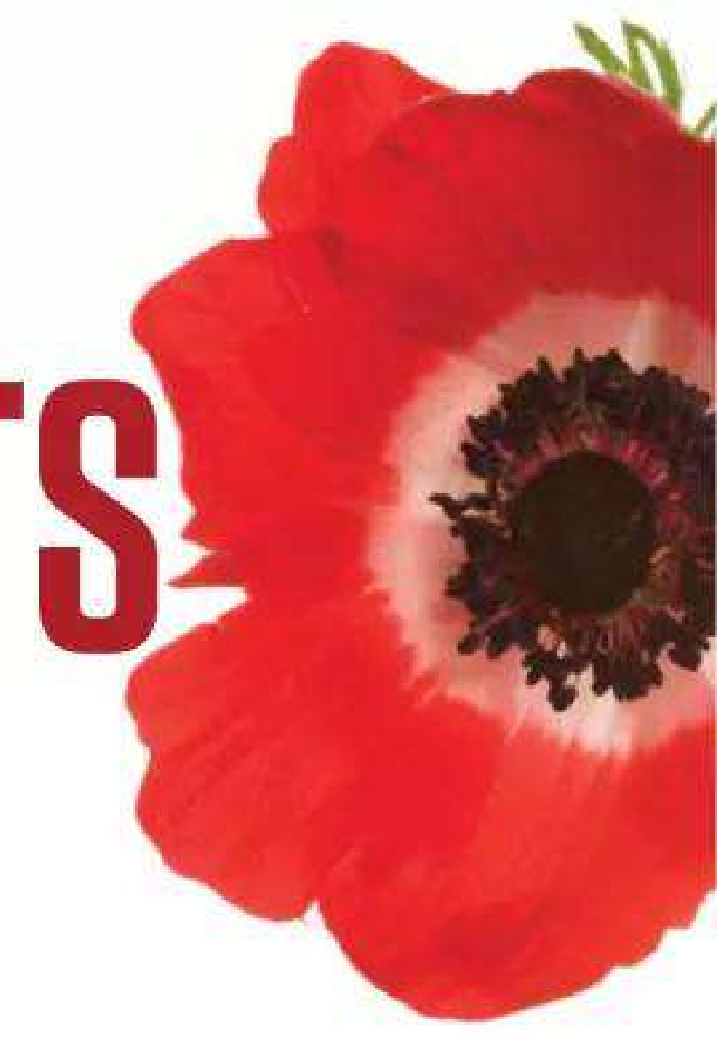

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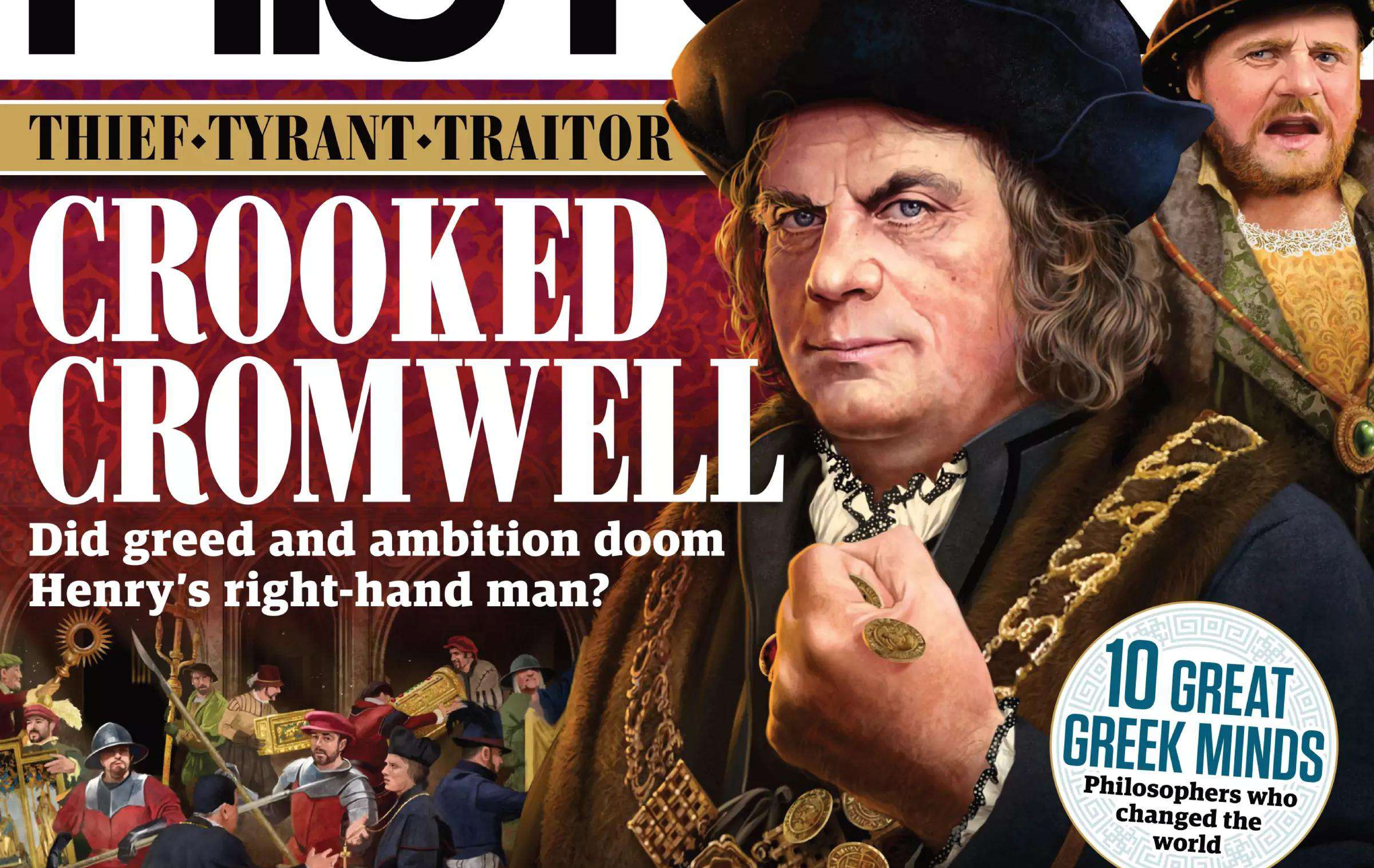

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FUTURE
ISSUE 097

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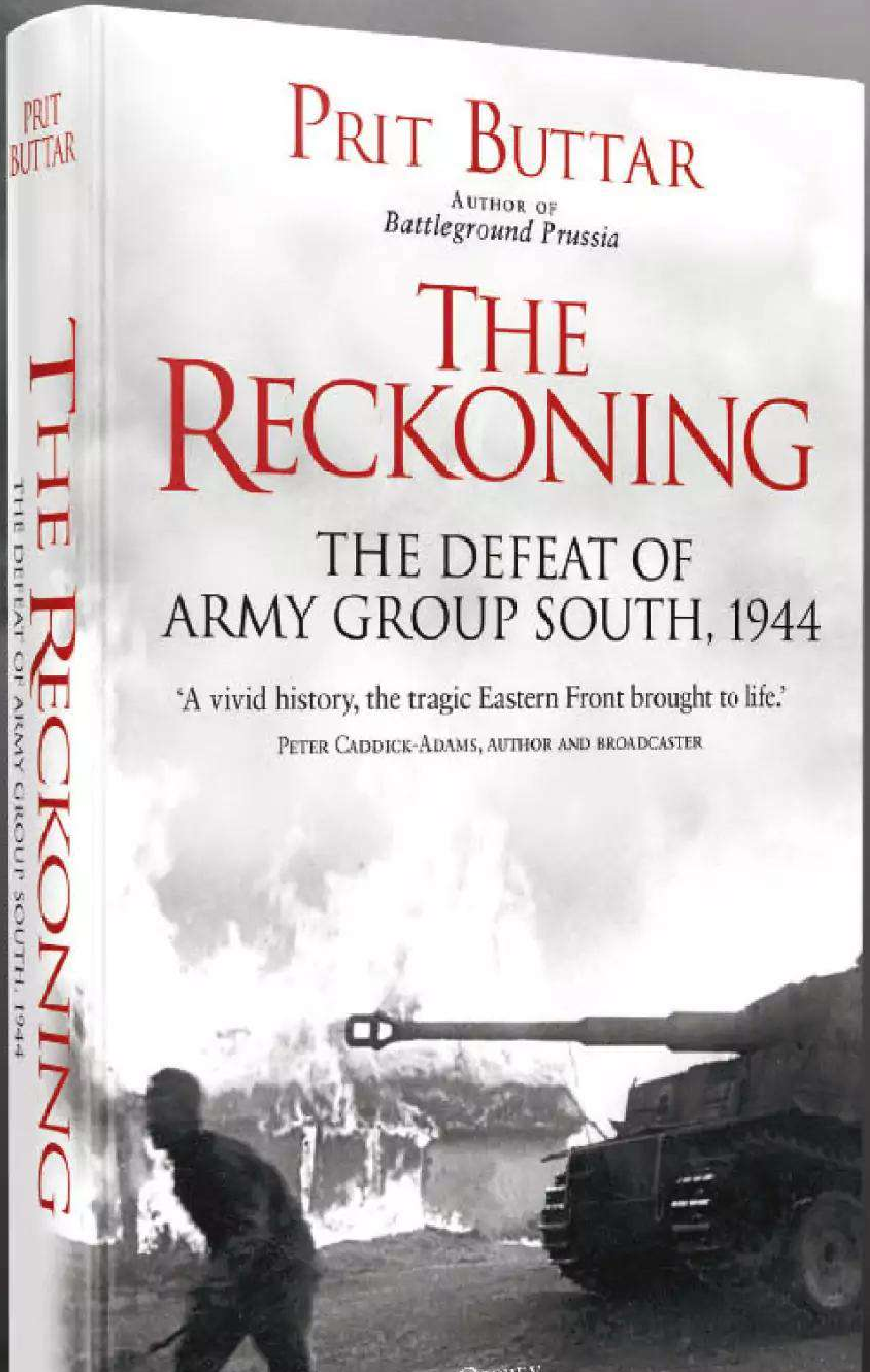
THE RECKONING

THE DEFEAT OF ARMY GROUP SOUTH, 1944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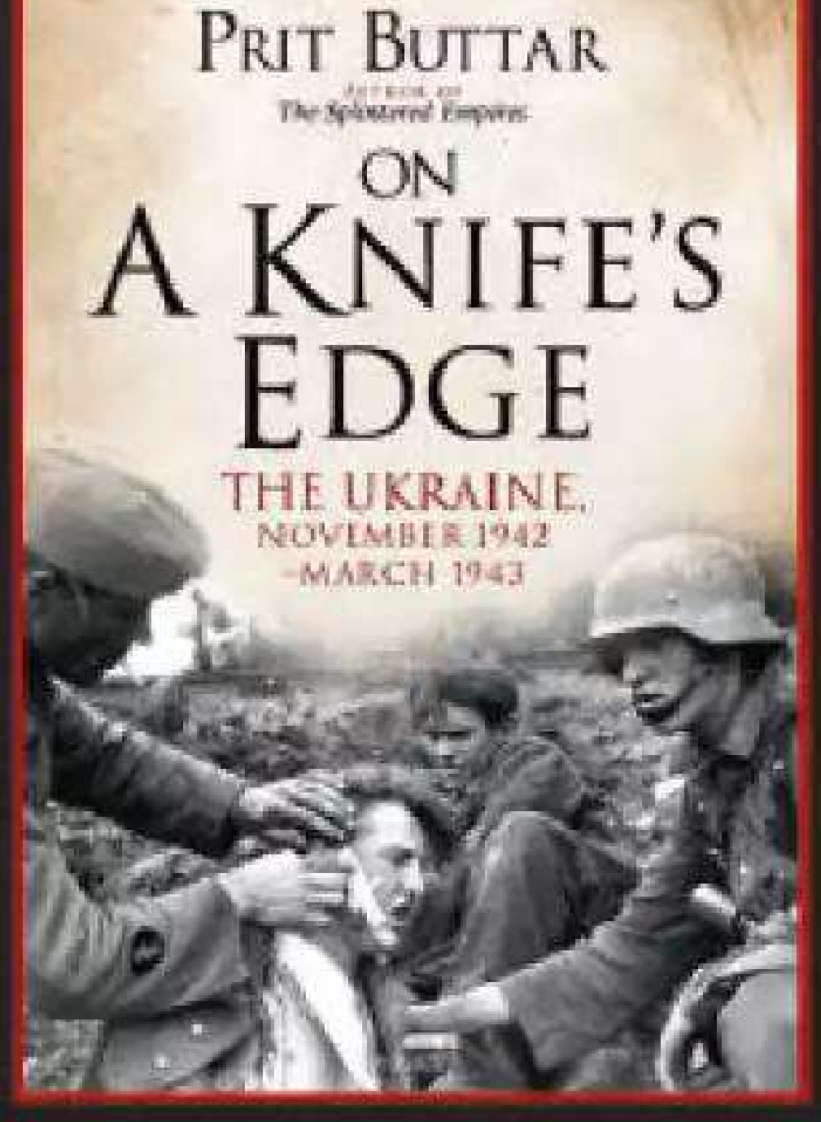
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ON
A KNIFE'S
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THE UKRAINE,
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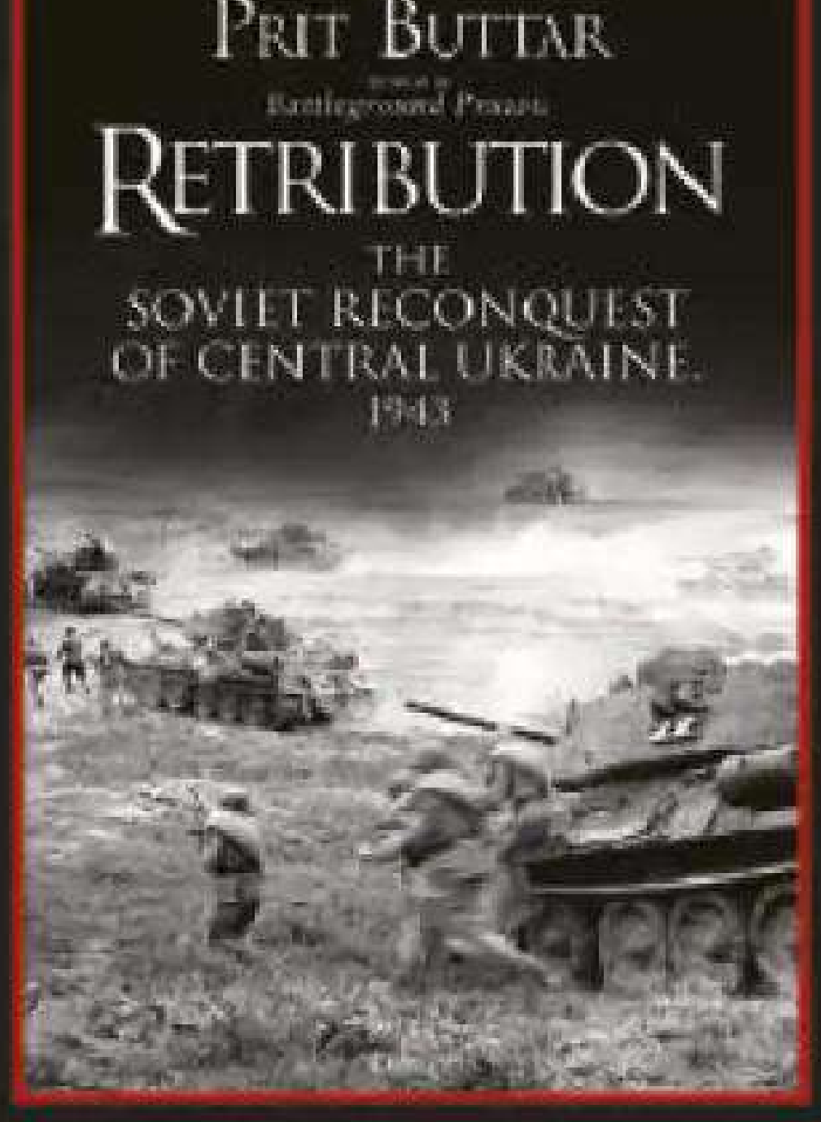
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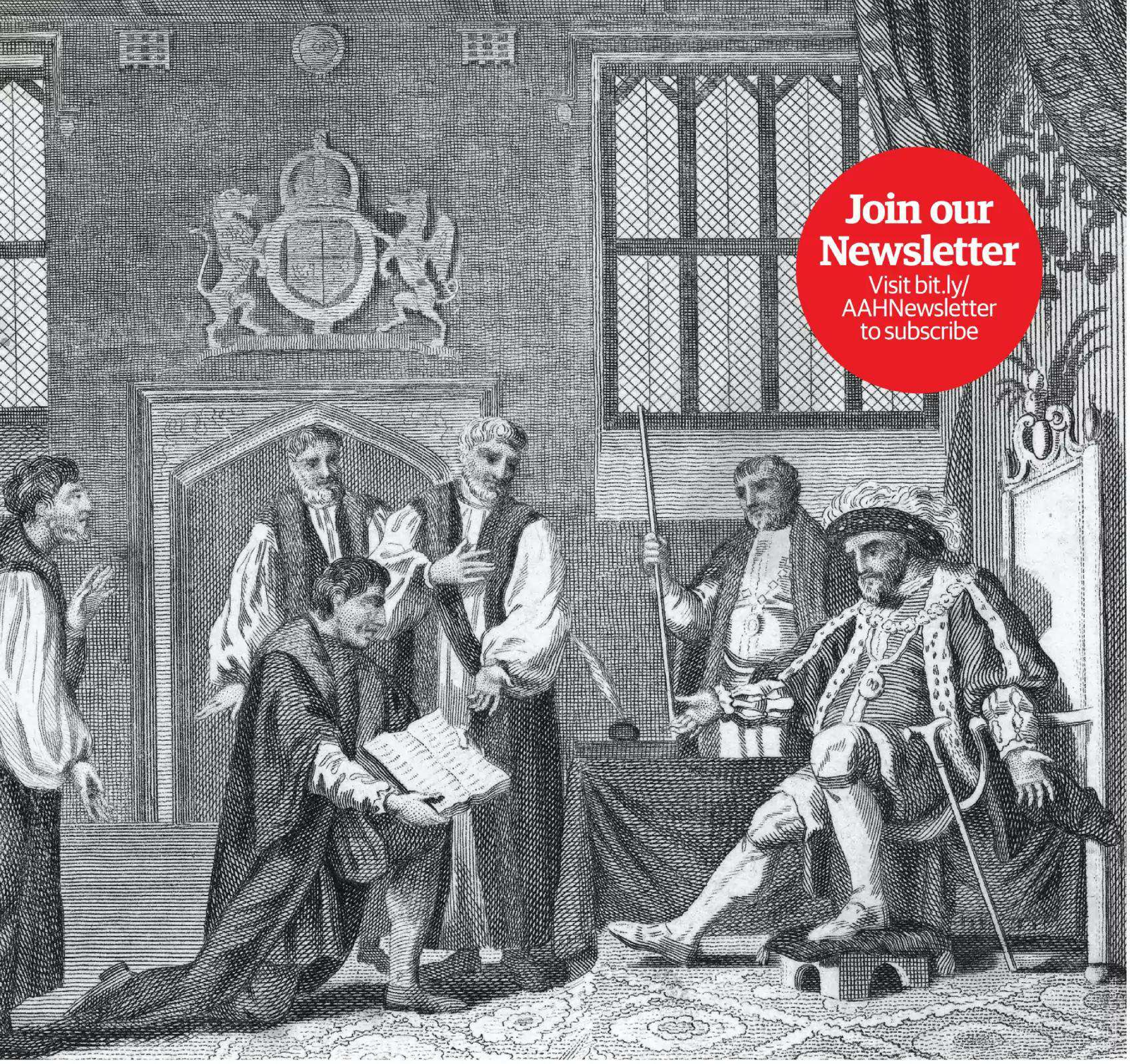

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Thomas Cromwell presenting Henry VIII with the first English translation of the *Bible*

Welcome

Was Thomas Cromwell more saint or sinner? In some ways that simple question is the one that's driven our cover feature this issue. Cromwell has become a little more prominent in public discourse thanks to the work of Hilary Mantel and her excellent novel series *Wolf Hall*. She has painted a more sympathetic portrait of Cromwell than history has tended to offer, so we wanted to pick through the facts. Was he a crook or perhaps a patsy, taking the blame for the shifting whims of his petulant king? We hope to offer you some insight.

You can also look forward to digging deeper into some important World War stories this issue. First, we go beyond the trenches of the Western Front of WWI to look at the important forgotten fronts of the conflict with help from the National Army Museum in London. Then we delve into the shadow games of the Soviet Union and its team of spy hunters sent to weed out foreign agents in WWII. It's a fascinating tale and one that inspired Ian Fleming's James Bond stories, as you'll find out.

If you've noted our issue numbers recently you'll know we're just a few magazines away from our 100th. We're making our plans for a big celebratory issue, so now is as good a time as ever to get subscribed. With the holiday season upon us, we have a bunch of offers you can take advantage of.

Jonathan Gordon
Editor

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Crooked Cromwell

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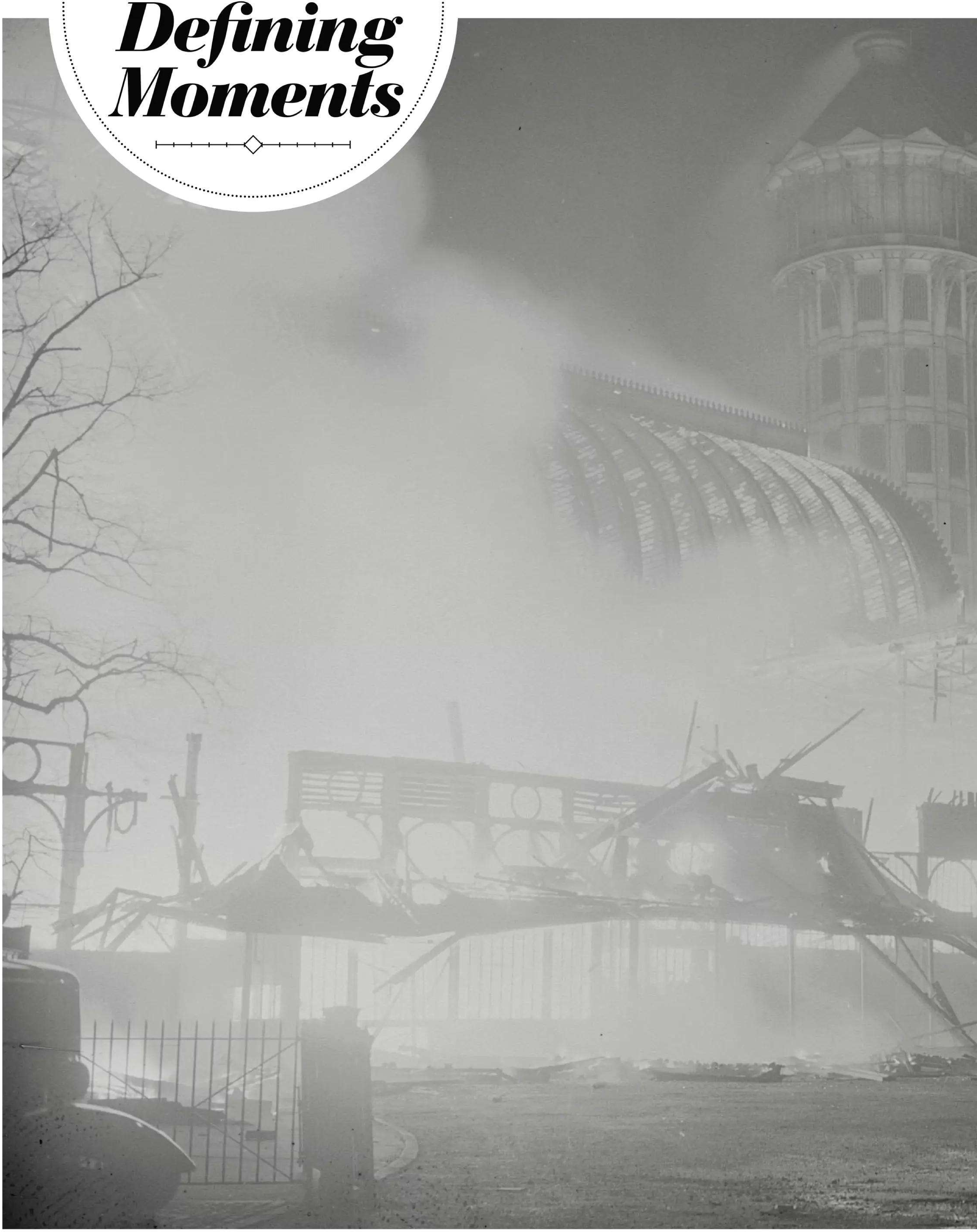
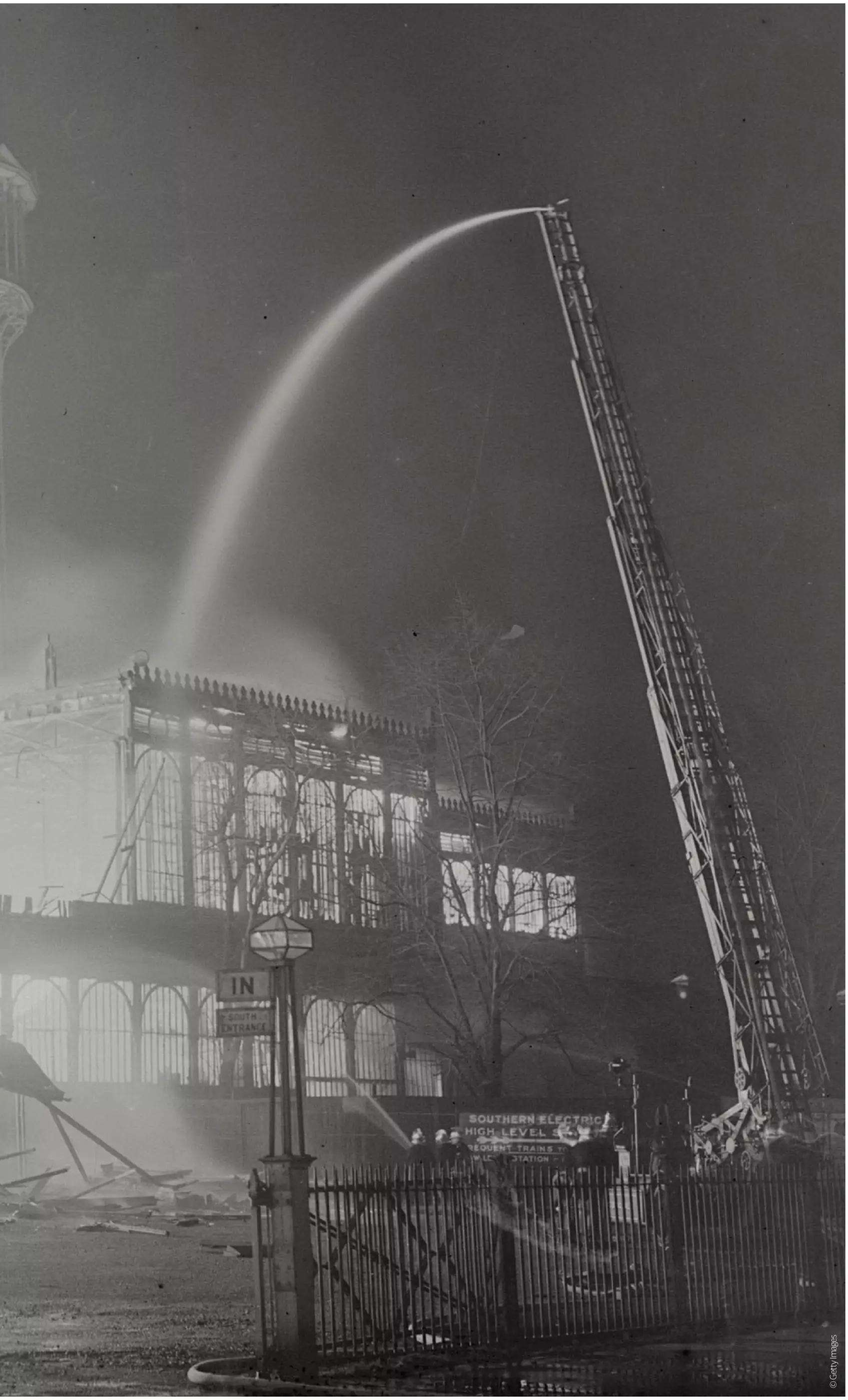
Defining Moments




IN
SOUTH ENTRANCE
SOUTHERN ELECTRIC
HIGH LEVEL S
FREQUENT TRAINS TO
STATION

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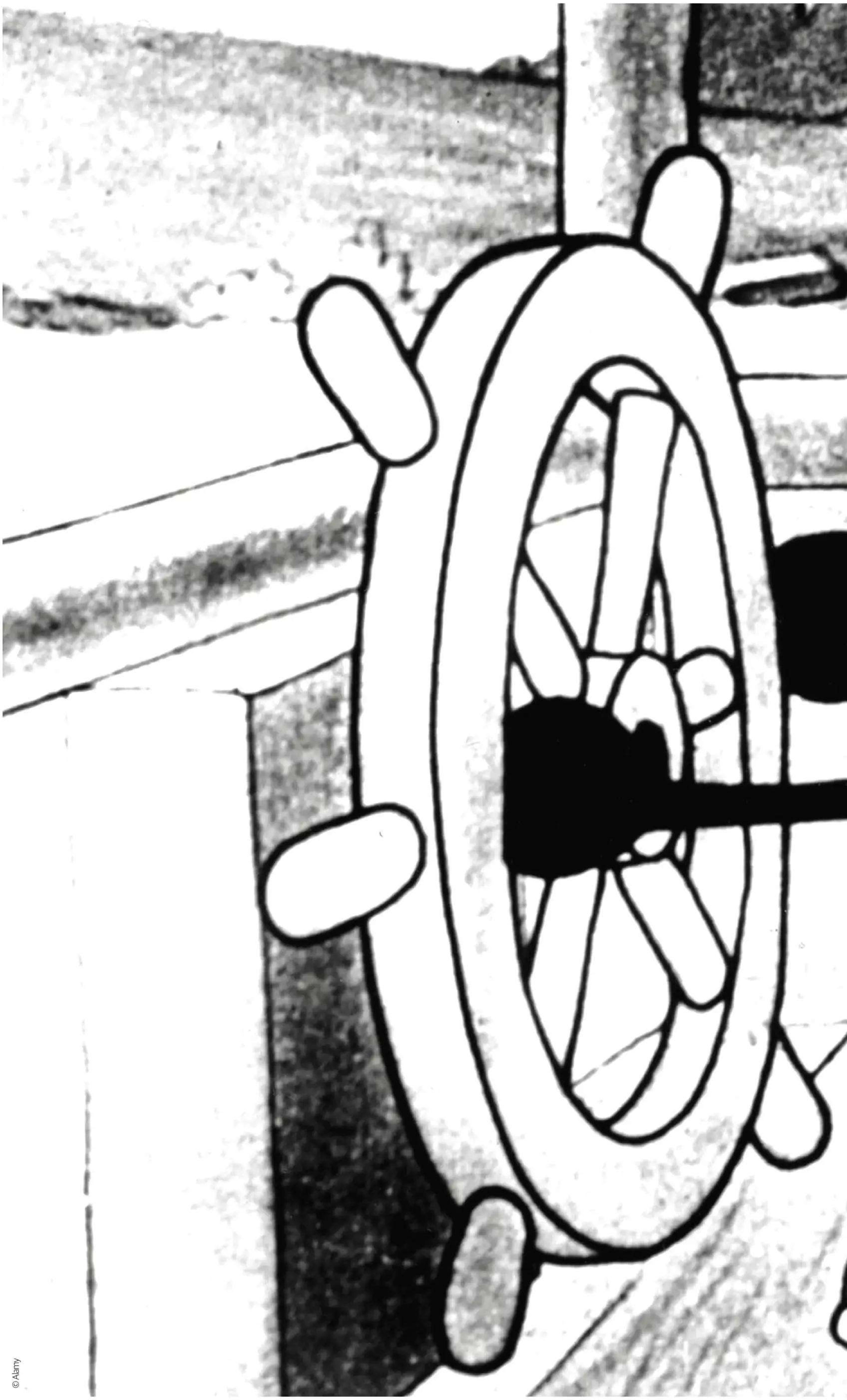
30 November 1936

CRYSTAL PALACE BURNS DOWN

The Crystal Palace, an iconic Victorian landmark in London made of glass and cast iron, was built for the Great Exhibition in 1851. On 30 November 1936, a local man walking his dog noticed a small fire inside, which quickly escalated. Over 80 fire engines were deployed but ultimately the palace was destroyed, with the cause of the fire never established.



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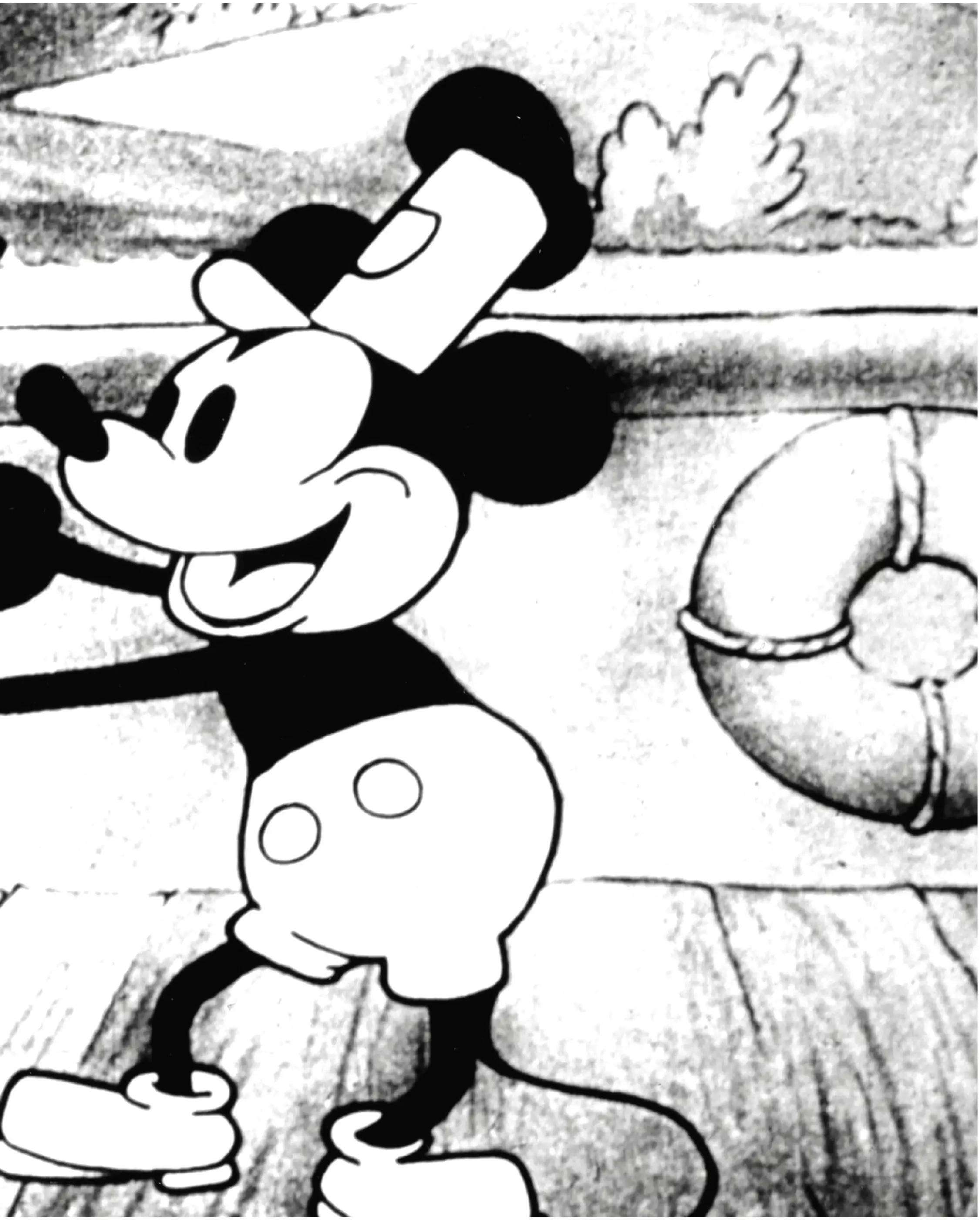
18 November 1928

STEAMBOAT WILLIE PREMIERES

Walt Disney's pioneering animated black-and-white short film, *Steamboat Willie*, debuted at the Colony Theater in New York. The first cartoon with synchronized sound, the film was a turning point in animation and propelled Walt Disney and Mickey Mouse to international acclaim. Today, *Steamboat Willie* is considered one of the greatest cartoons of all time.



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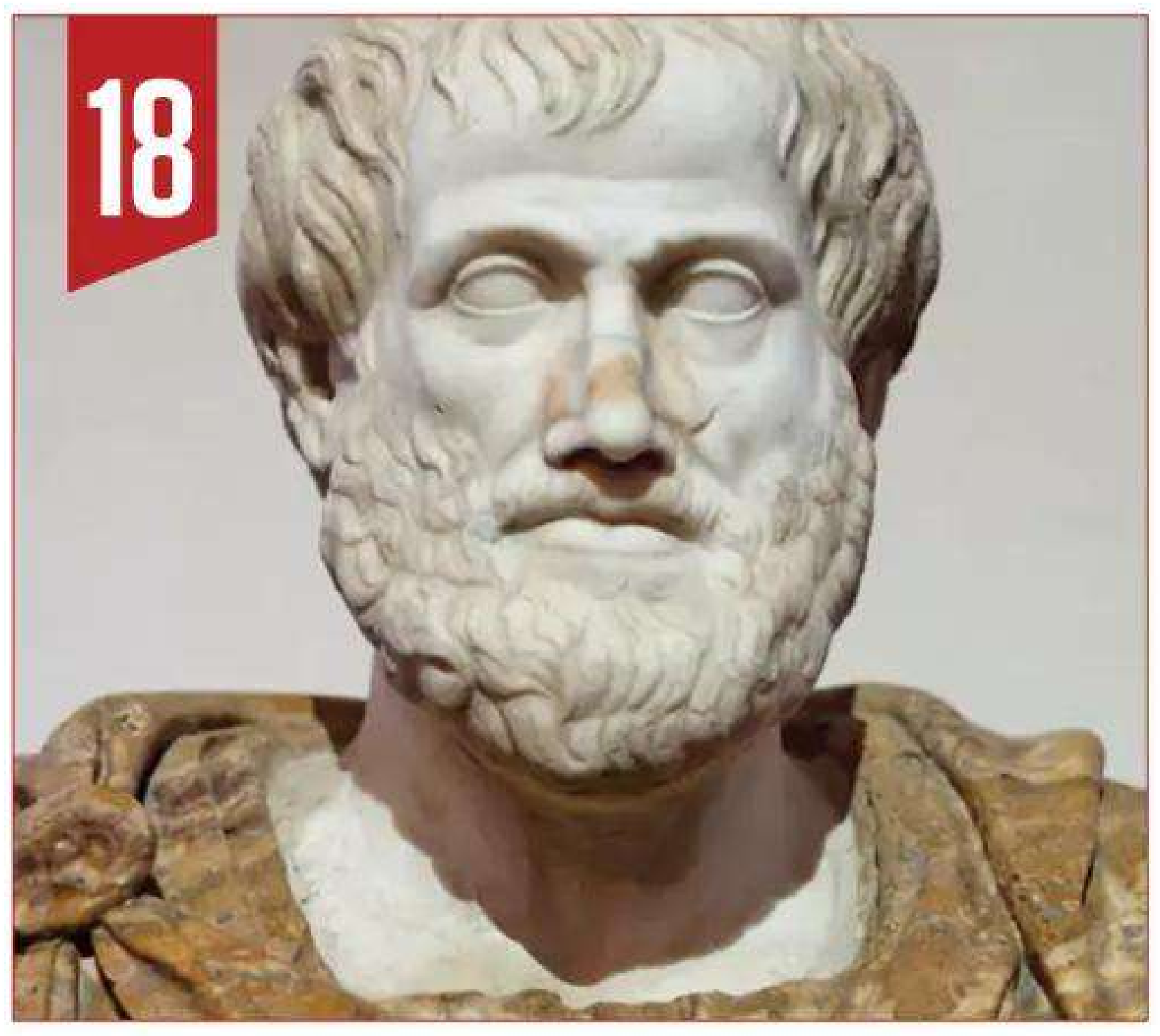
From Alexander the Great to Zeno of Citium, we look at the wide and varied history of the civilisation that shaped so much of the Western world

INSIDE THE ACROPOLIS

ANATOMY OF THE PYTHIA



ANCIENT GREEK PHILOSOPHERS

DID THE TROJAN WAR REALLY HAPPEN?

Main image source: © Getty Images

Written by Jessica Leggett, Jonathan Gordon

Key Events

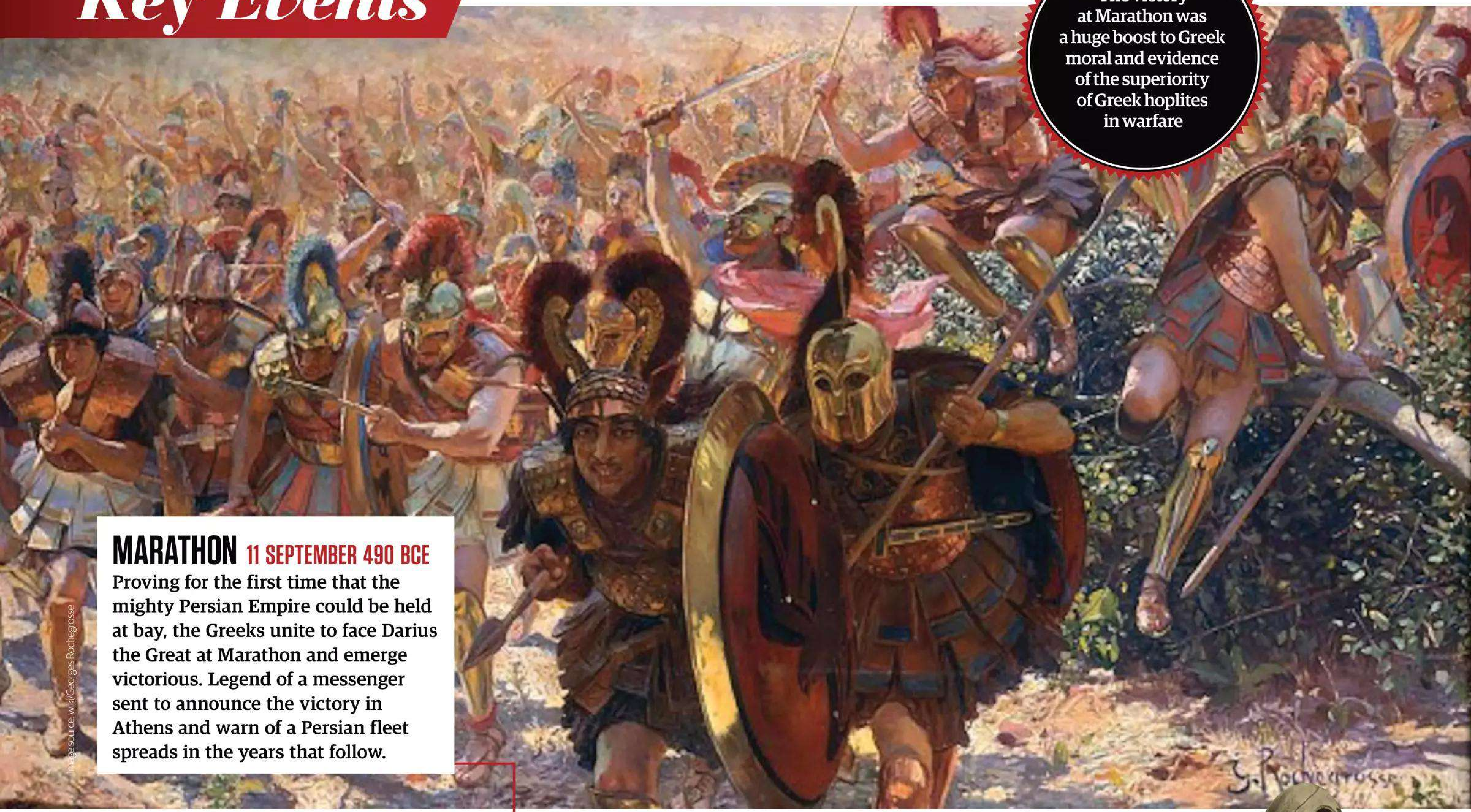


Image source: wiki/Georges Rochegrosse

The victory at Marathon was a huge boost to Greek moral and evidence of the superiority of Greek hoplites in warfare

MARATHON 11 SEPTEMBER 490 BCE

Proving for the first time that the mighty Persian Empire could be held at bay, the Greeks unite to face Darius the Great at Marathon and emerge victorious. Legend of a messenger sent to announce the victory in Athens and warn of a Persian fleet spreads in the years that follow.

FOUNDATIONS OF DEMOCRACY 594 BCE

An Athenian archon named Solon passes a series of constitutional reforms that open up political representation based on wealth to a wider array of citizens.

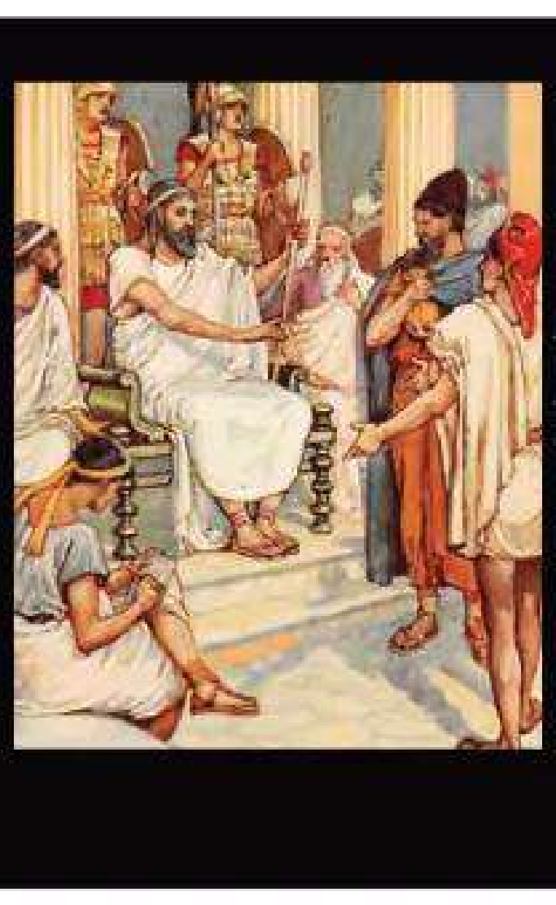


Image source: wiki/Walter Crane

THE 300 AUG 480 BCE

At the famous Battle of Thermopylae, King Leonidas leads his 300 Spartan hoplites alongside 6,700 assorted Greeks to hold back Xerxes' 70,000-300,000 Persians.

Image source: wiki/John Steeple Davis

PERICLES REFORMS
451 BCE

Athenian statesman, orator, and general Pericles introduces reforms that make anyone born to Athenian parents a full citizen, greatly expanding their rights.

Image source: wiki/Francois-Per

594 BCE

492 BCE

451 BCE

PERSIAN INVASION
492 BCE

Starting half a century of conflict, Darius the Great invades Greece with the intention of adding the Aegean city states to his dominant empire.

Image source: wiki/Leen van Dorp

BATTLE OF SALAMIS
SEP 480 BCE

Having been defeated at Thermopylae, a Greek naval force gathers in the Gulf of Corinth near Salamis to repel an invasion by sea, winning with bold tactics despite being outnumbered again.

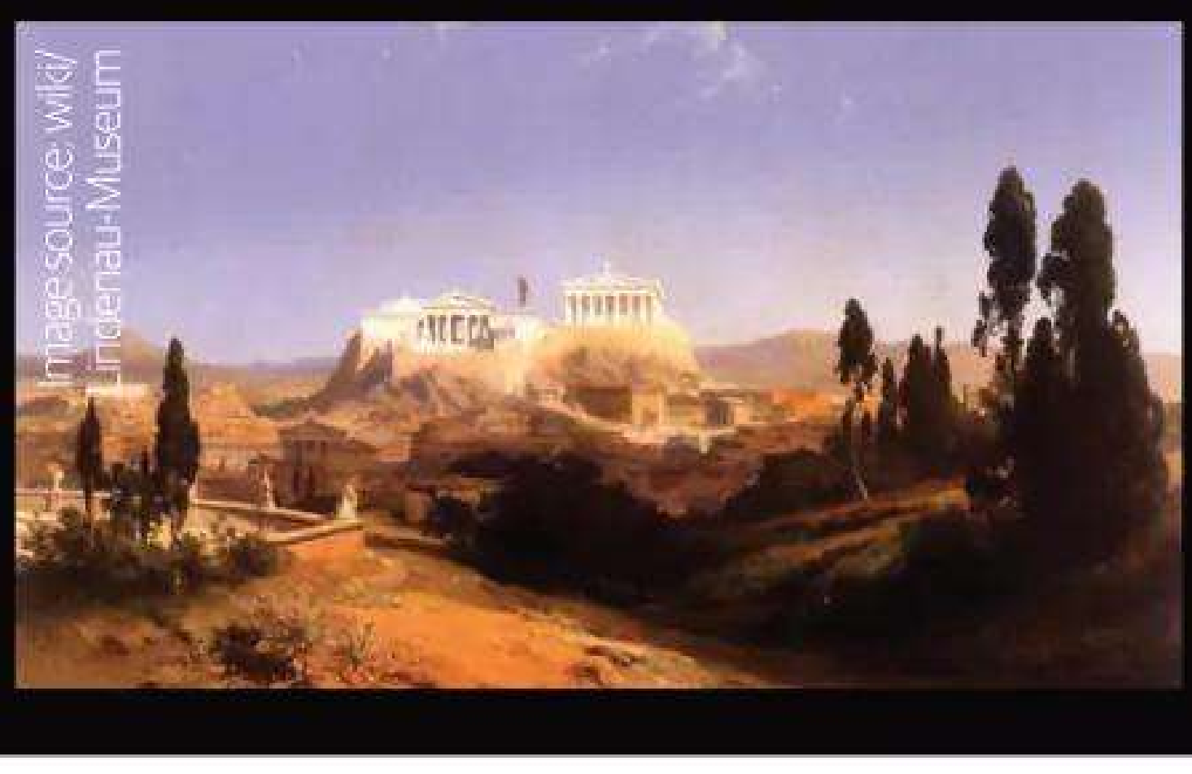


Image source: wiki/ Lindenau-Museum

THE PARTHENON
447-438 BCE

With Athens in ascendence a great number of works to celebrate its power and influence are commissioned, the most striking of which is the Parthenon temple.

GREECE UNITES 479 BCE

Bringing an end to Xerxes' ambitions in Greece, a united Greek force meets his general Mardonius and a vast Persian army at Plataea. Despite having the weaker numerical force, the Greeks win a crushing victory, with thousands slaughtered as the Persians retreat in disarray.

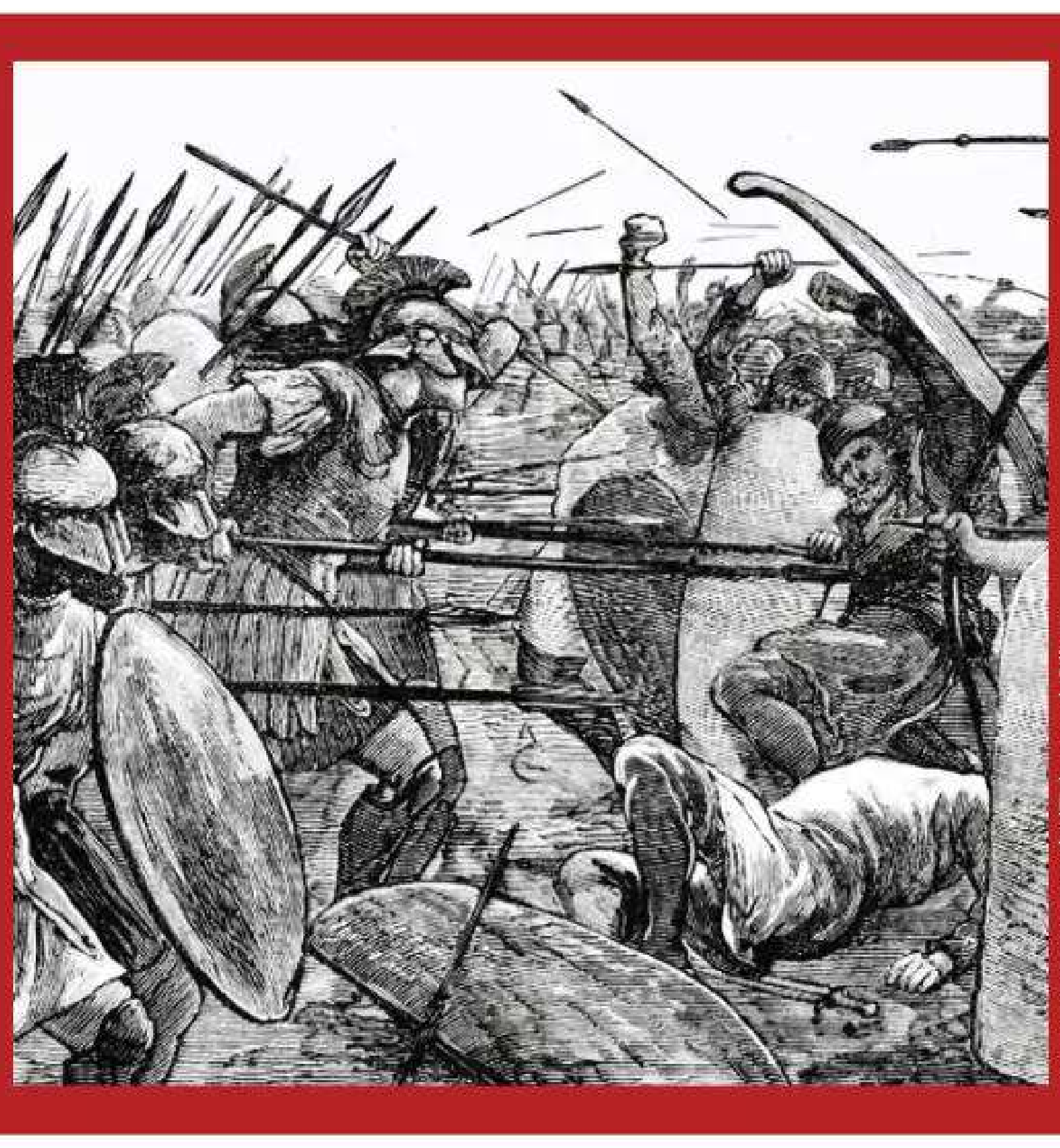


Image source: wiki/Edmund Ollier

PELOPONNESIAN WAR
431-404 BCE

Growing tensions between Athens and Sparta, simmering with clashes involving allies in the Delian and Peloponnesian Leagues respectively, spark into war as Sparta begins regular land invasions from 431 BCE. Decades of conflict follow, ending with Spartan victory at Aegospotami.

Image source: wiki/AKG Images

With Sparta dominant on land and Athens dominant at sea, the two powers struggled for years to gain an advantage

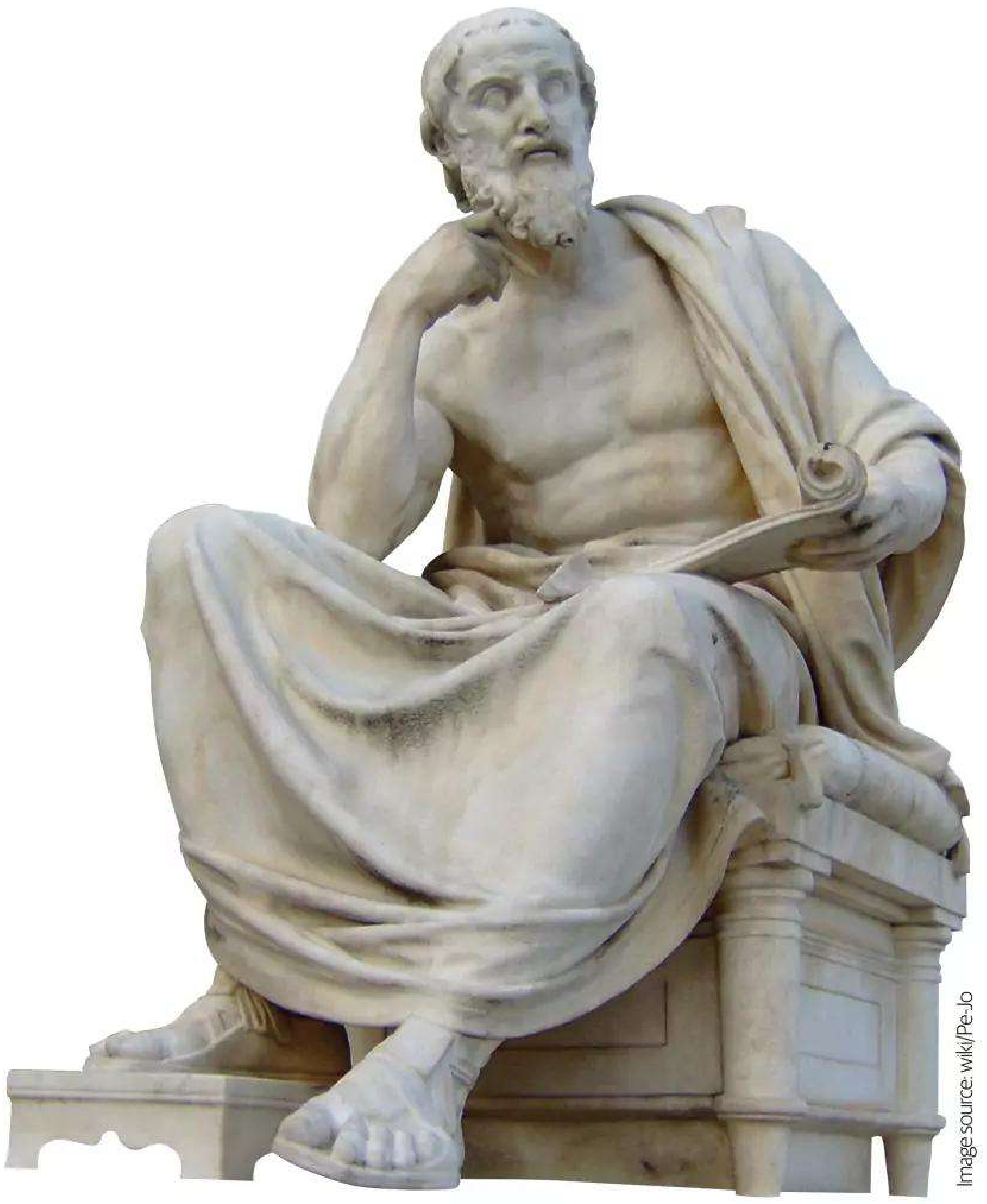


Image source: wiki/Pe-Jo

THE FIRST HISTORIAN C.415 BCE

Herodotus publishes his work, *Histories*, covering the wars between Greece and Persia from 499–479 BCE as well as his observations about the wider world. While not entirely accurate, it nonetheless comes to define the evidence-based approach around which history is studied and shared.

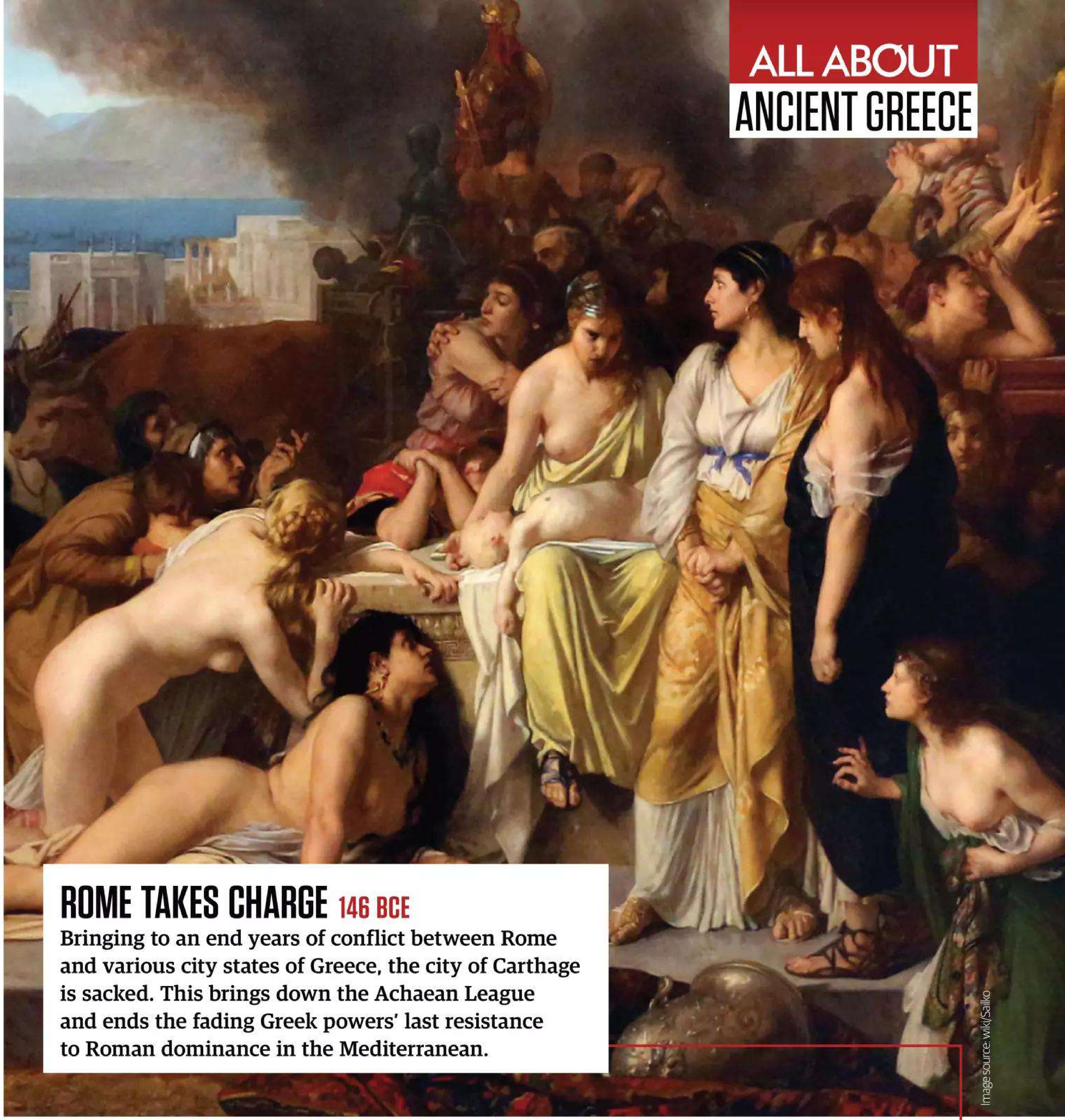


Image source: wiki/Sailko

ROME TAKES CHARGE 146 BCE

Bringing to an end years of conflict between Rome and various city states of Greece, the city of Carthage is sacked. This brings down the Achaean League and ends the fading Greek powers' last resistance to Roman dominance in the Mediterranean.

DEATH OF SOCRATES
399 BCE

Famed philosopher Socrates is put on trial for impiety (denying the gods), likely for political reasons. He is convicted and sentenced to death by drinking hemlock.

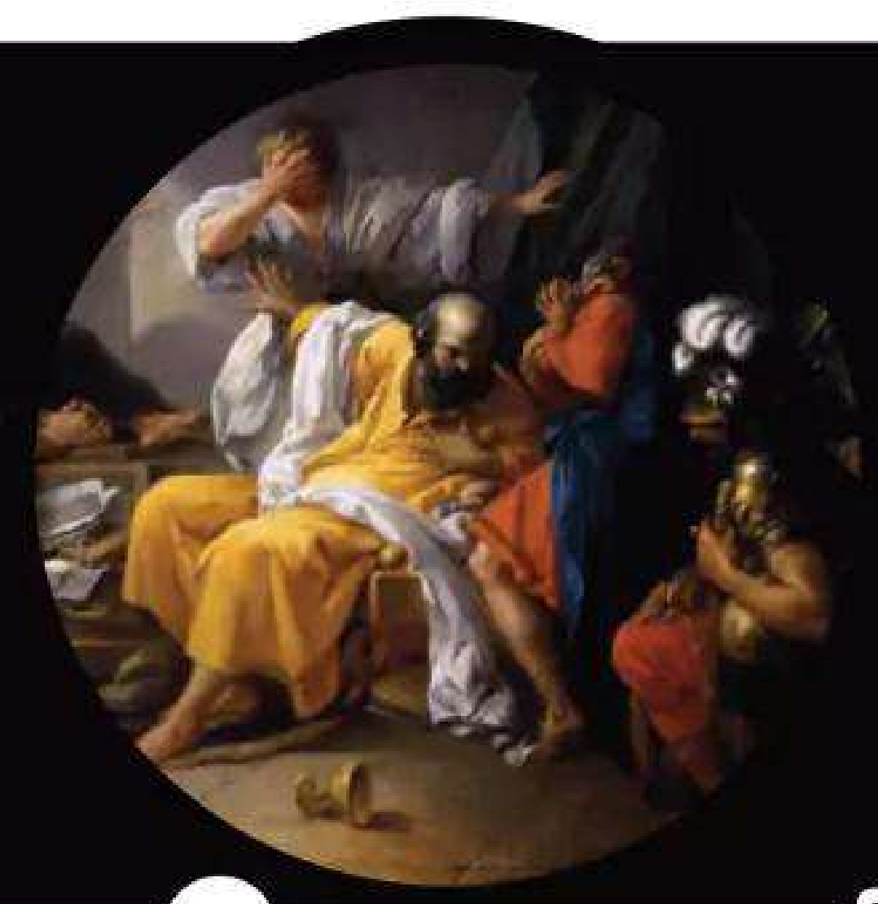


Image source: wiki/ Web Gallery of Art

THE RISE OF PHILIP
338 BCE

Since becoming king in 359 BCE, Philip II of Macedon set his sights on dominating Greece. At the Battle of Chaeronea he defeats Thebes to secure his supremacy.

Image source: wiki/Edmund Ollier

CENTRE OF THE UNIVERSE
270 BCE

Mathematician and astronomer Aristarchus of Samos comes up with a heliocentric theory, suggesting that the Sun, not the Earth, is the centre of the universe around which other bodies in space revolve.

Image source: wiki/Dr. Manuel

399 BCE — 338 BCE — 270 BCE — 168 BCE

Image source: wiki/Edmund Ollier

THEBES DEFEATS SPARTA
371 BCE

Following up surprise victories over the Spartans, Boeotian forces lead by the Thebans defeat the Spartans again at the Battle of Leuctra to cement their regional dominance.

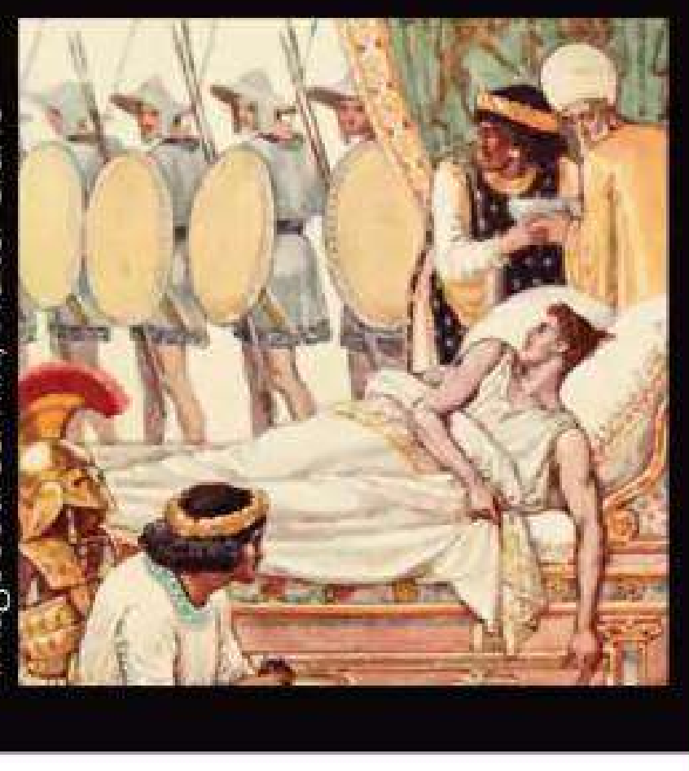


Image source: wiki/Walter Crane

DEATH OF ALEXANDER
323 BCE

After years of conquests in the east, Alexander returns to Babylon with plans to invade Carthage and Rome, but contracts malaria. He succumbs to the disease aged 32.

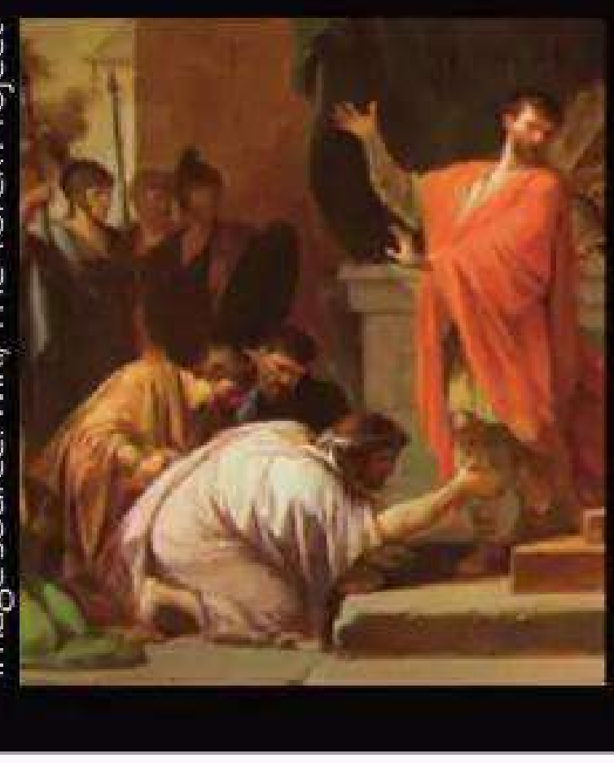


Image source: wiki/The Yorck Project

ROME ASCENDANT
168 BCE

In a showdown of Macedonian phalanx against Roman legions, the Romans emerge victorious at the Battle of Pydna, ending the Macedonian kingdom as a result.

PLATO'S ACADEMY 380 BCE

Taking its name from Akadēmeia where his students met, Plato begins his Academy in Athens, holding discussions with intellectuals on a number of topics. Indeed, Plato's open approach to topics made it unique among educational institutions of the time. Aristotle is just one of many philosophers who attended.

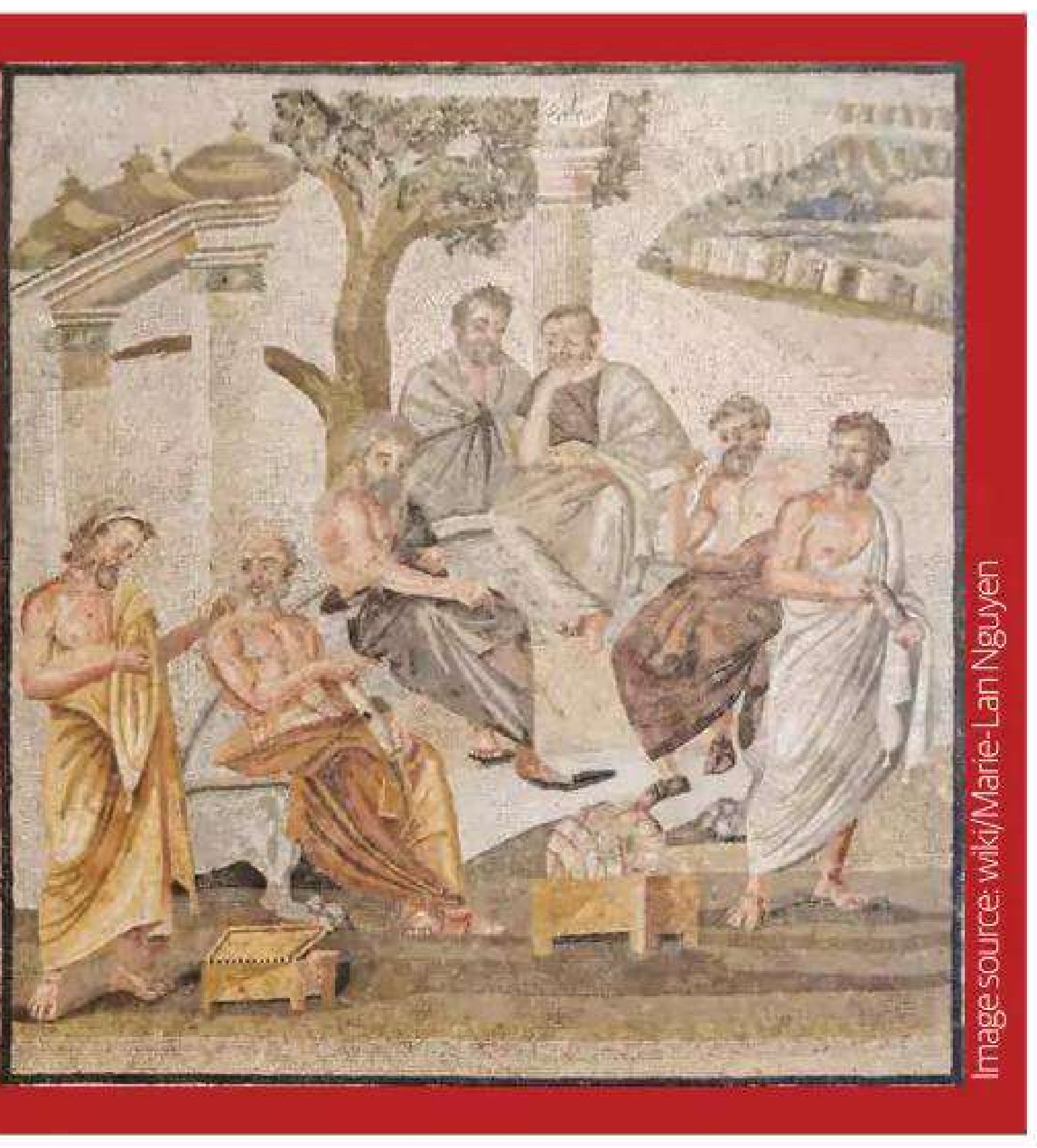


Image source: wiki/Marie-Lan Nguyen

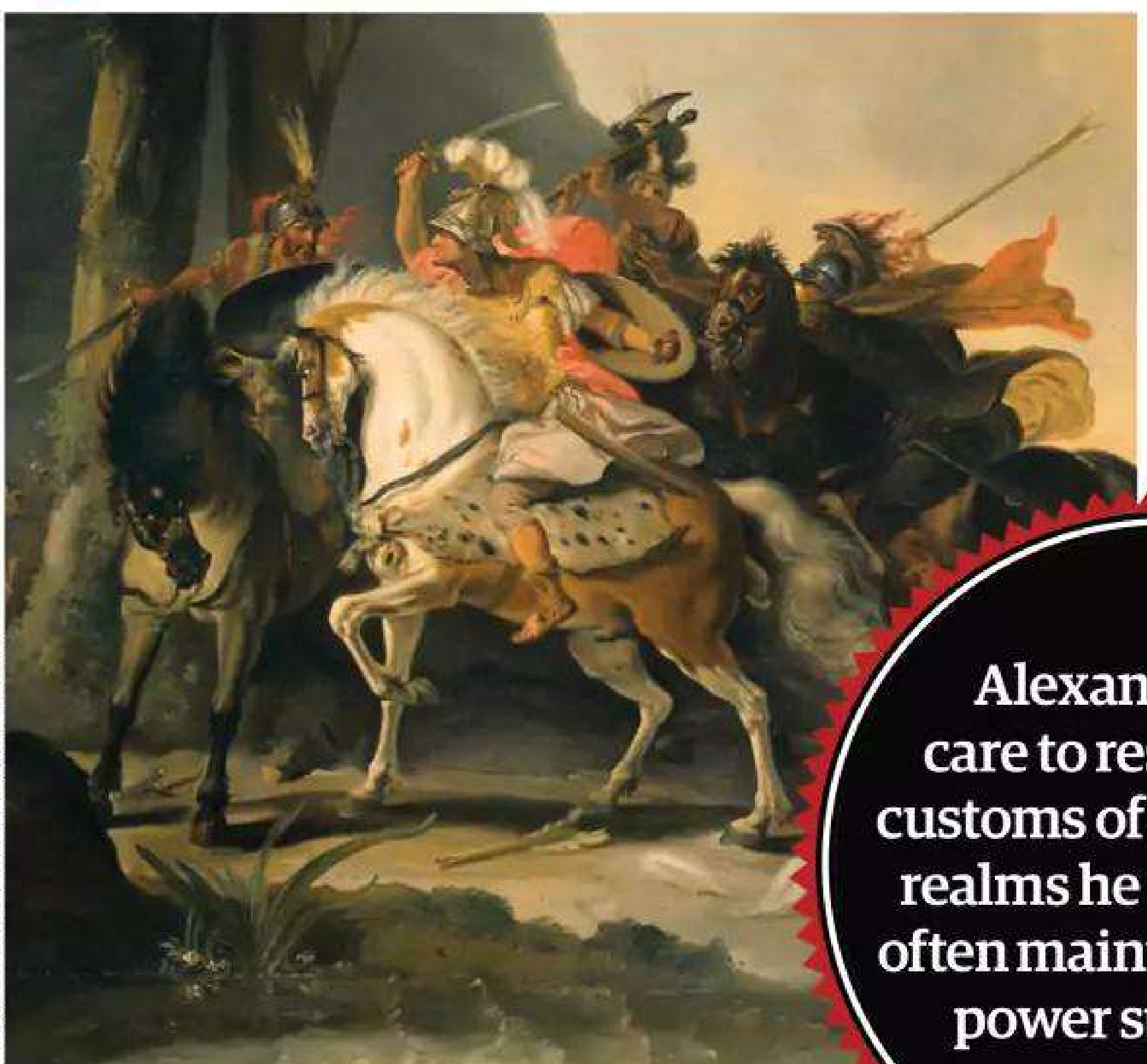


Image source: wiki/ Rijksmuseum

ALEXANDER RISES 336 BCE

After the assassination of his father, Alexander the Great ascends the throne and immediately executes his father's plans for an invasion of Asia. He builds one of the largest and most diverse empires of the era, stretching from Greece to India and the Black Sea to the Red Sea.

> Alexander took care to respect local customs of many of the realms he conquered, often maintaining local power structures

Inside History

THE ACROPOLIS

Athens, Greece

450 BCE – 500 CE

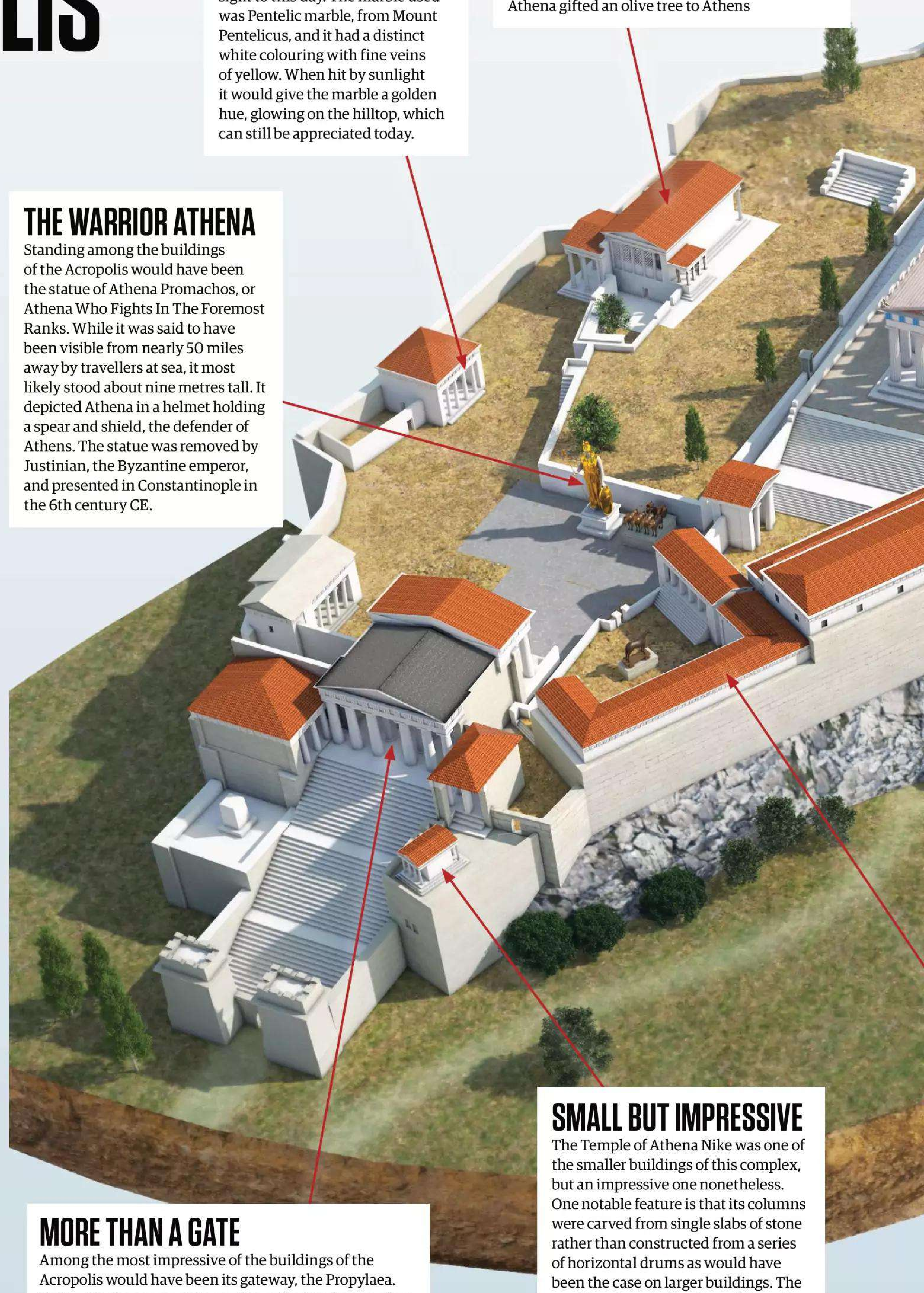
The many structures built on this hill overlooking the city of Athens were some of the jewels of the Ancient Greek world. Built as a celebration and representation of Athenian dominance in the Aegean after their victory over the Persians, the Acropolis had actually been a sacred location for the Athenians for many years prior.

Fortifications around the Acropolis have been dated back as far as the 13th century BCE. Since the hill is virtually vertical on three sides, it would have made an ideal defensive position for the people of Athens when the city was under attack, and this appears to have been recognised in later building designs. Around the 8th century BCE the cult of Athena began to take an interest in the hill and from there it began to be built up even more.

The bulk of the iconic building of the Acropolis, which would have been visible from all around Athens and perhaps even beyond in good weather, began under the leadership of Pericles from 450 BCE. Having defeated the Persians, Athens had established itself as the dominant power in the Aegean and as a result was recouping vasts sums in tribute from between 150 and 200 neighbouring cities. It was this funding that made the massive construction project possible.

It's been estimated that the entire complex cost between 340 and 800 silver talents, where a single silver talent would have paid for the wages of 170 sailors on a warship. A number of architects and artists were employed to turn the hill into a grand exemplar of Athenian greatness and creativity.

While the buildings have fallen into disrepair or had artefacts removed, it remains one of Greece's most prominent tourist attractions and was named a World Heritage site in 1987.



SACRED SPOT

Dedicated to Athena and a selection of local heroes and other gods, the importance of the Erechtheion is more about where it sits than who was worshipped inside. It's thought to have been built on a triumvirate of important locations. It was the spot where Poseidon's trident was said to have pierced the earth, where Zeus fired a thunderbolt at King Erechtheus and where Athena gifted an olive tree to Athens

MARVELLOUS MARBLE

Even though much of the Parthenon and the buildings surrounding it have been lost, the marble used in its construction means that it remains a dazzling sight to this day. The marble used was Pentelic marble, from Mount Pentelicus, and it had a distinct white colouring with fine veins of yellow. When hit by sunlight it would give the marble a golden hue, glowing on the hilltop, which can still be appreciated today.

THE WARRIOR ATHENA

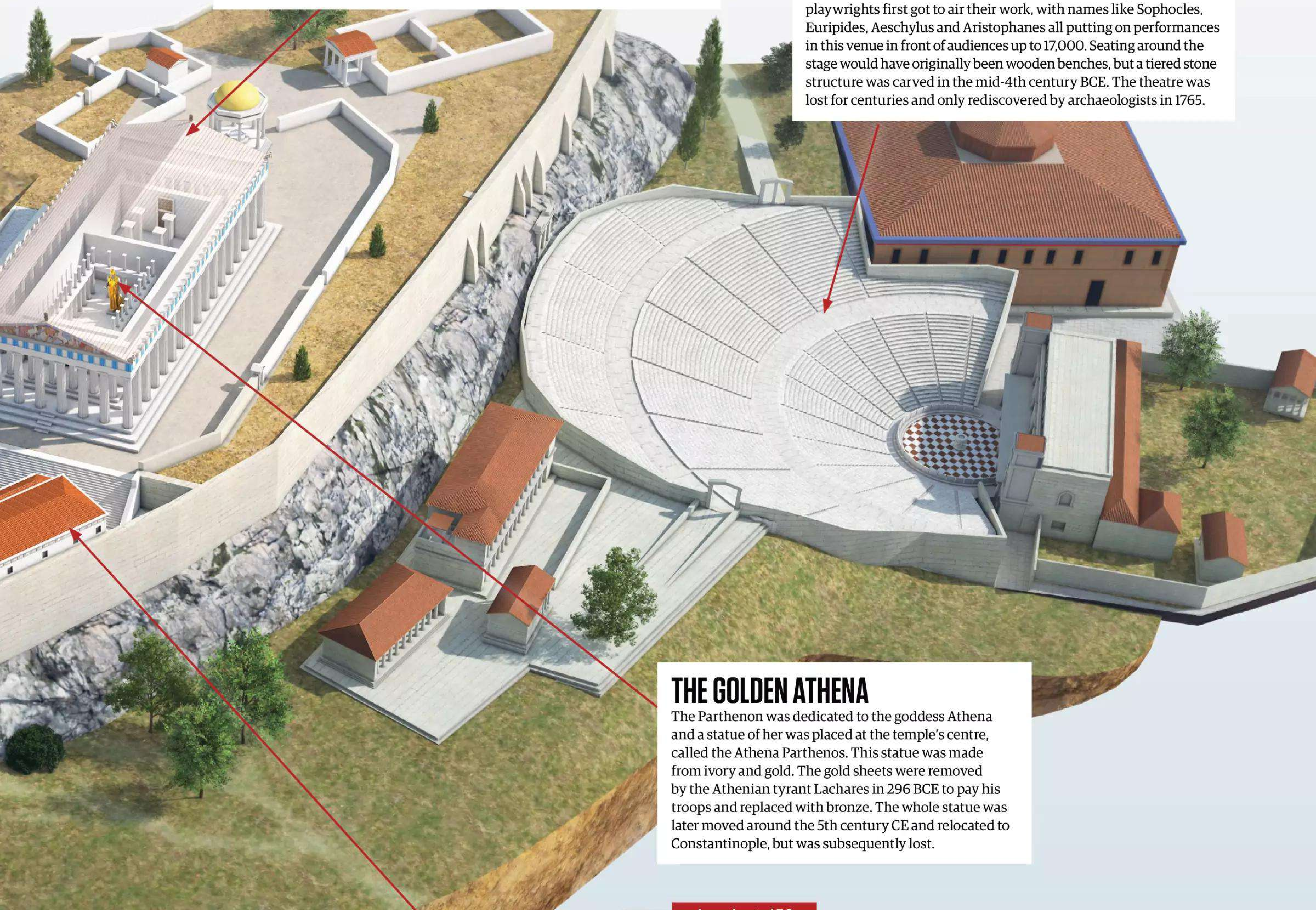
Standing among the buildings of the Acropolis would have been the statue of Athena Promachos, or Athena Who Fights In The Foremost Ranks. While it was said to have been visible from nearly 50 miles away by travellers at sea, it most likely stood about nine metres tall. It depicted Athena in a helmet holding a spear and shield, the defender of Athens. The statue was removed by Justinian, the Byzantine emperor, and presented in Constantinople in the 6th century CE.

SMALL BUT IMPRESSIVE

The Temple of Athena Nike was one of the smaller buildings of this complex, but an impressive one nonetheless. One notable feature is that its columns were carved from single slabs of stone rather than constructed from a series of horizontal drums as would have been the case on larger buildings. The combination of Nike, the goddess of victory, with Athena was a common one and marked the victory of Greece over the Persians.

MORE THAN A GATE

Among the most impressive of the buildings of the Acropolis would have been its gateway, the Propylaea. Built with the same white marble as the Parthenon after the temple's completion, contemporary writers held it in equal esteem to the more famous building. It was not only a gate that could be sealed off against attack, maintaining the hill's defensive role, but also a grand meeting area with wings spanning out on either side to welcome guests.



GRAND DESIGN

The Parthenon is probably the most famous structure of the Acropolis and is thought to have taken around eight or nine years to construct. Its base covers about 2140 square metres and its 46 exterior columns stood ten metres tall, making it an imposing sight. The Parthenon was notable for its detailed sculpture work around the outside. The Pediment, the triangular gables at either end of the structure, featured reliefs of Greek myths.

THE PLAY'S THE THING

This was the venue where some of Ancient Greece's greatest playwrights first got to air their work, with names like Sophocles, Euripides, Aeschylus and Aristophanes all putting on performances in this venue in front of audiences up to 17,000. Seating around the stage would have originally been wooden benches, but a tiered stone structure was carved in the mid-4th century BCE. The theatre was lost for centuries and only rediscovered by archaeologists in 1765.

THE GOLDEN ATHENA

The Parthenon was dedicated to the goddess Athena and a statue of her was placed at the temple's centre, called the Athena Parthenos. This statue was made from ivory and gold. The gold sheets were removed by the Athenian tyrant Lachares in 296 BCE to pay his troops and replaced with bronze. The whole statue was later moved around the 5th century CE and relocated to Constantinople, but was subsequently lost.

A SECOND GODDESS

The Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia was built between 561 and 527 BCE under the reign of Peisistratos, whose original home of Brauron had been dedicated to this goddess. Artemis was the goddess of expectant mothers, but the ceremonies conducted for the coming of age of young women was also tied to Athena. A wooden statue of Artemis was replaced with a stone carving around 330 BCE, which now sits in the Acropolis Museum.

OFFERINGS

The Chalkotheke was mostly used for storing the valuable offerings made in deference to Athena. Valuable metal objects, weapons, statuettes and hydriae (classic Greek pottery) would be dedicated to the goddess and therefore were considered to belong to her. All of the contents of the Chalkotheke would've been listed on a stone stele outside the building. Since it was only a functional building it actually wasn't even mentioned by Pausanias in his travel writings.

An estimated 7.2 million people visit the Parthenon each year

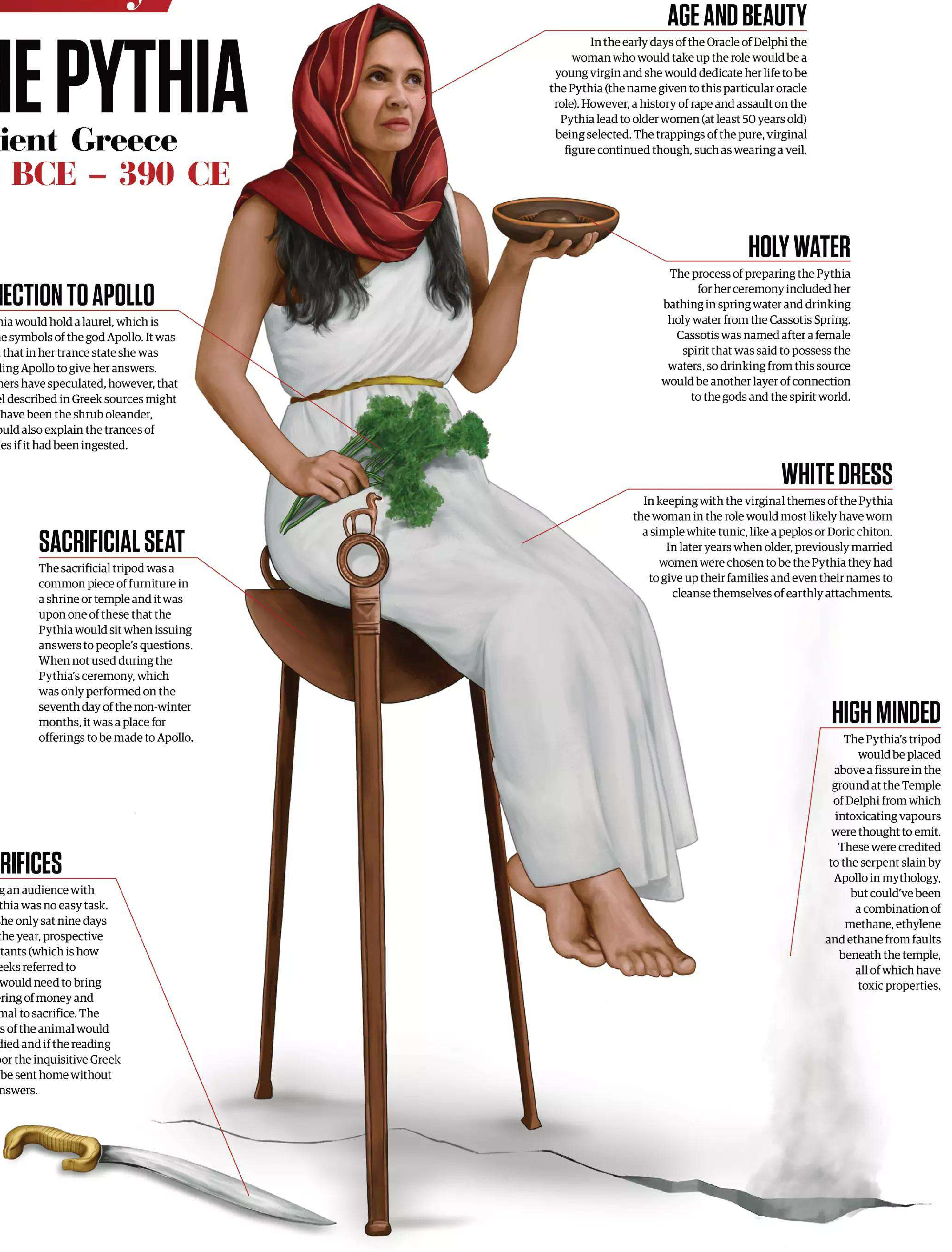
Image source: wiki/Mountain

Illustration by: Adrian Mann

THE PYTHIA

Ancient Greece

800 BCE – 390 CE



AGE AND BEAUTY

In the early days of the Oracle of Delphi the woman who would take up the role would be a young virgin and she would dedicate her life to be the Pythia (the name given to this particular oracle role). However, a history of rape and assault on the Pythia lead to older women (at least 50 years old) being selected. The trappings of the pure, virginal figure continued though, such as wearing a veil.

CONNECTION TO APOLLO

The Pythia would hold a laurel, which is one of the symbols of the god Apollo. It was believed that in her trance state she was channelling Apollo to give her answers. Researchers have speculated, however, that the laurel described in Greek sources might actually have been the shrub oleander, which could also explain the trances of the oracles if it had been ingested.

HOLY WATER

The process of preparing the Pythia for her ceremony included her bathing in spring water and drinking holy water from the Cassotis Spring. Cassotis was named after a female spirit that was said to possess the waters, so drinking from this source would be another layer of connection to the gods and the spirit world.

WHITE DRESS

In keeping with the virginal themes of the Pythia the woman in the role would most likely have worn a simple white tunic, like a peplos or Doric chiton. In later years when older, previously married women were chosen to be the Pythia they had to give up their families and even their names to cleanse themselves of earthly attachments.

SACRIFICIAL SEAT

The sacrificial tripod was a common piece of furniture in a shrine or temple and it was upon one of these that the Pythia would sit when issuing answers to people's questions. When not used during the Pythia's ceremony, which was only performed on the seventh day of the non-winter months, it was a place for offerings to be made to Apollo.

HIGH MINDED

The Pythia's tripod would be placed above a fissure in the ground at the Temple of Delphi from which intoxicating vapours were thought to emit. These were credited to the serpent slain by Apollo in mythology, but could've been a combination of methane, ethylene and ethane from faults beneath the temple, all of which have toxic properties.

SACRIFICES

Getting an audience with the Pythia was no easy task. Since she only sat nine days out of the year, prospective consultants (which is how the Greeks referred to them) would need to bring an offering of money and an animal to sacrifice. The entrails of the animal would be studied and if the reading was poor the inquisitive Greek would be sent home without their answers.

Illustration by: Kevin McGivern

Historical Treasures

TERRACOTTA COLUMN-KRATER

Drinking wine was an important part of Ancient Greek society

Greece, c.550 BCE

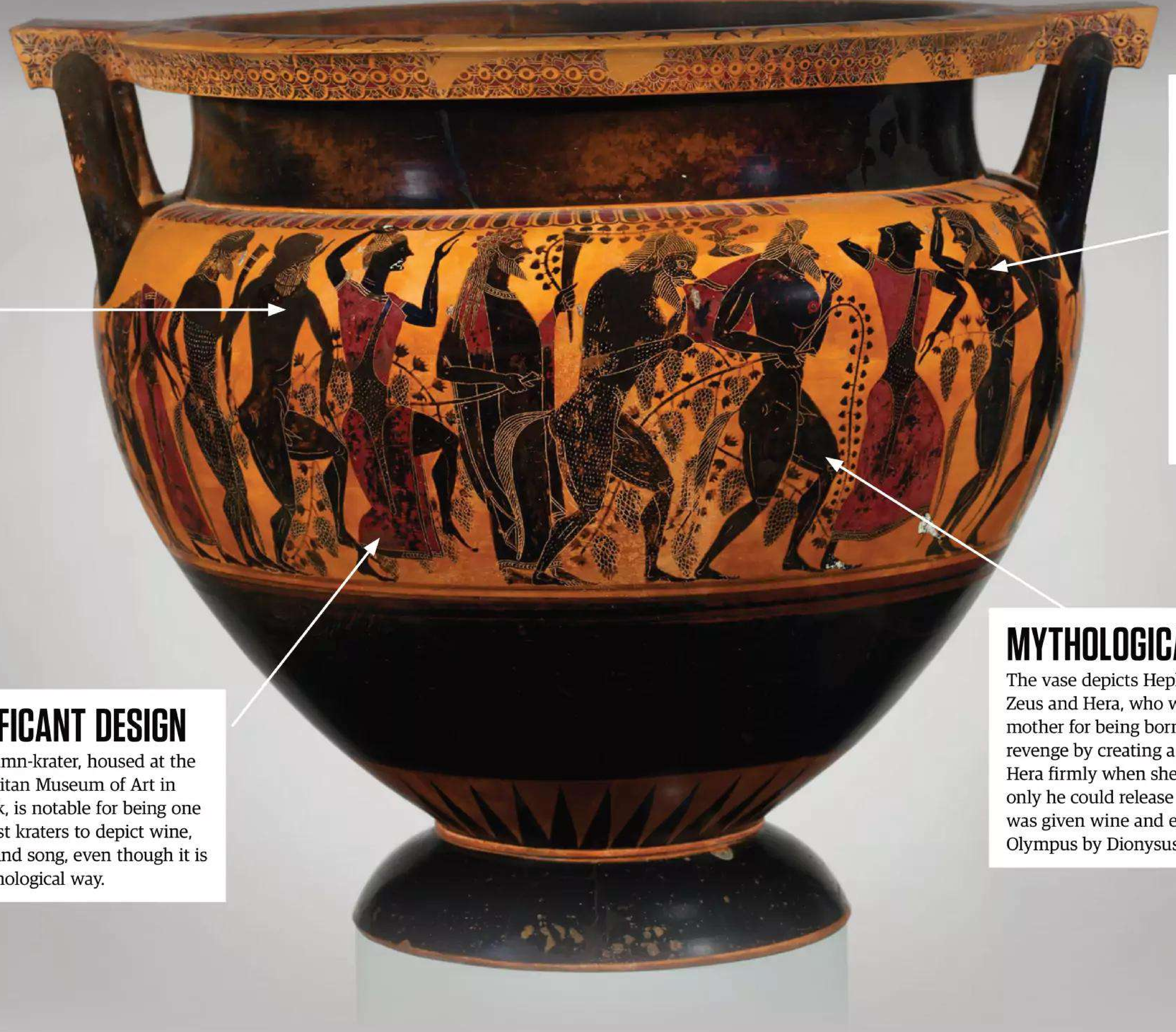
The symposium, a party held after a banquet, was a social institution in Ancient Greece. They were held in private homes in the andron, the men's quarters of the house, where aristocratic men would recline on couches and eat, drink, dance and sing together. Symposiums were also a gathering place where these men could hold serious discussions on topics such as philosophy and politics, as well as to conduct business with one another. For entertainment, the host would hire professional musicians and hetairai – educated courtesans – who were the only women permitted to join the party.

Symposiums, held to celebrate all kinds of occasions, were the perfect event for drinking wine. However, the Ancient Greeks believed that wine was a precious gift from Dionysus, the god of wine, and that it should be treated with respect. To prevent drinking to excess, the Greeks would dilute the wine with water in large open-mouthed vases called kraters – they considered drinking undiluted wine to be extremely vulgar.

Kraters were made of pottery or metal and they typically stood on a tripod in the middle of the dining room. It was the job of the symposiarch, the master of ceremonies at the symposium, to decide the strength of the wine, mixing it with water in the krater. The wine would then be collected in pitchers and served by slave boys to the guests in the room.

Lots of these kraters were elaborately decorated because it was a way for the host to show off their wealth to their guests. They were frequently adorned with scenes either depicting Dionysus and his followers or scenes of the symposiums themselves. In fact, large decorated kraters were sometimes used as grave markers because they were seen as symbols of wealth and elite status.

There are several different types of kraters and the example shown here is a column-krater, a style of krater named for its column-like handles. This style of krater emerged in Corinth during the 7th century BCE, but it soon became popular in Athens, where it was regularly produced in the 6th and 5th centuries BCE.



PAINTING STYLE

Black-figure painting was a popular technique used in Athens to decorate pottery. The motifs would be painted using a slip, a clay-liquid mixture, which would turn black after firing. It would eventually be replaced with the red-figure technique, which was invented around 530 BCE.

PAINTER DETAILS

This column-krater has been attributed to Lydos, an Attic vase painter who specialised in the black-figure style. He also had a large workshop that produced pottery decorated with the black-figure technique.

MYTHOLOGICAL SCENE

The vase depicts Hephaistos, the son of Zeus and Hera, who was cast out by his mother for being born lame. He got his revenge by creating a throne that held Hera firmly when she sat down and only he could release her – and so he was given wine and escorted to Mount Olympus by Dionysus and his followers.

SIGNIFICANT DESIGN

This column-krater, housed at the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, is notable for being one of the first kraters to depict wine, women and song, even though it is in a mythological way.

Image source: Metropolitan Museum of Art

ANCIENT GREEK PHILOSOPHERS

Ten great minds whose works shaped the development of Western thinking

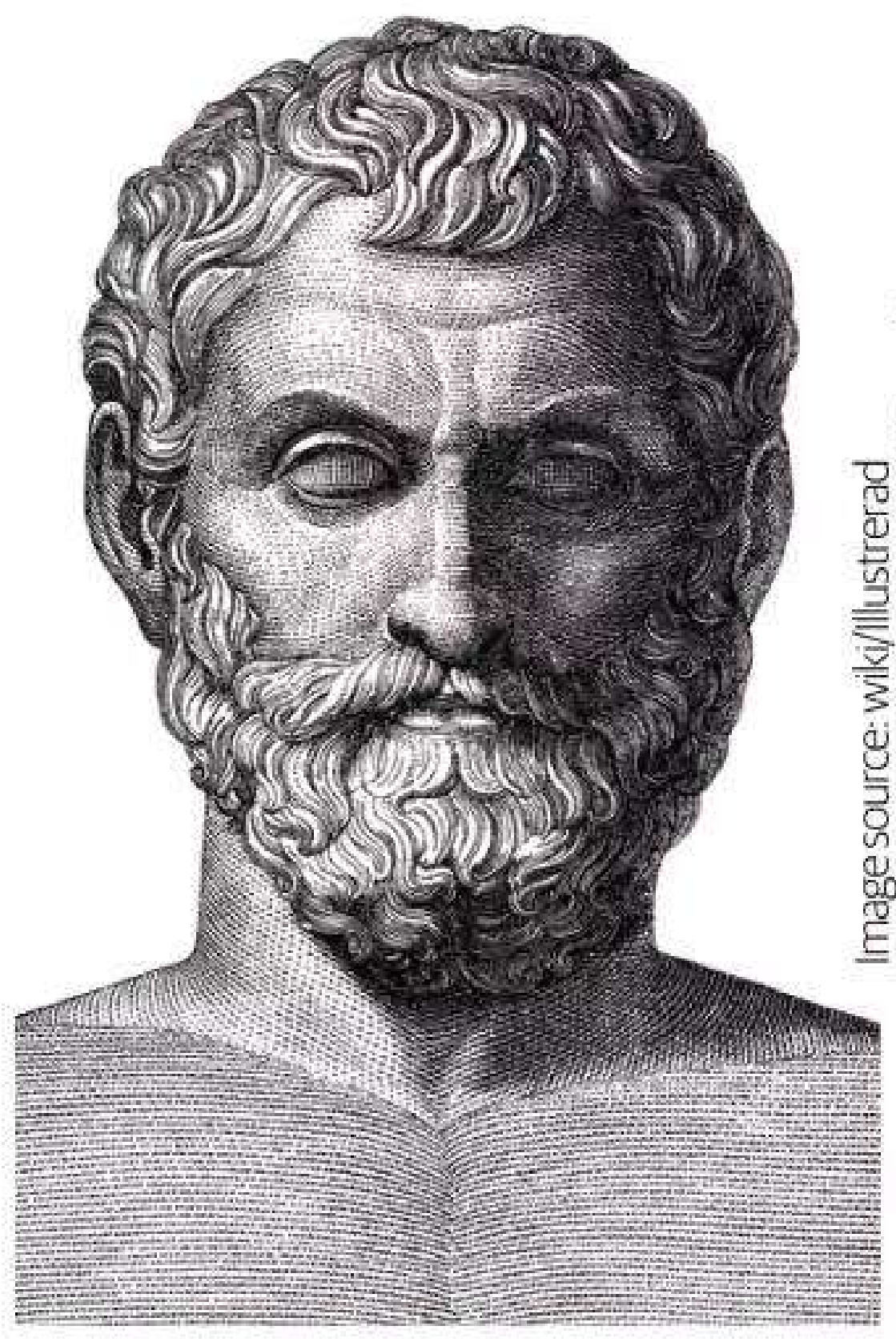
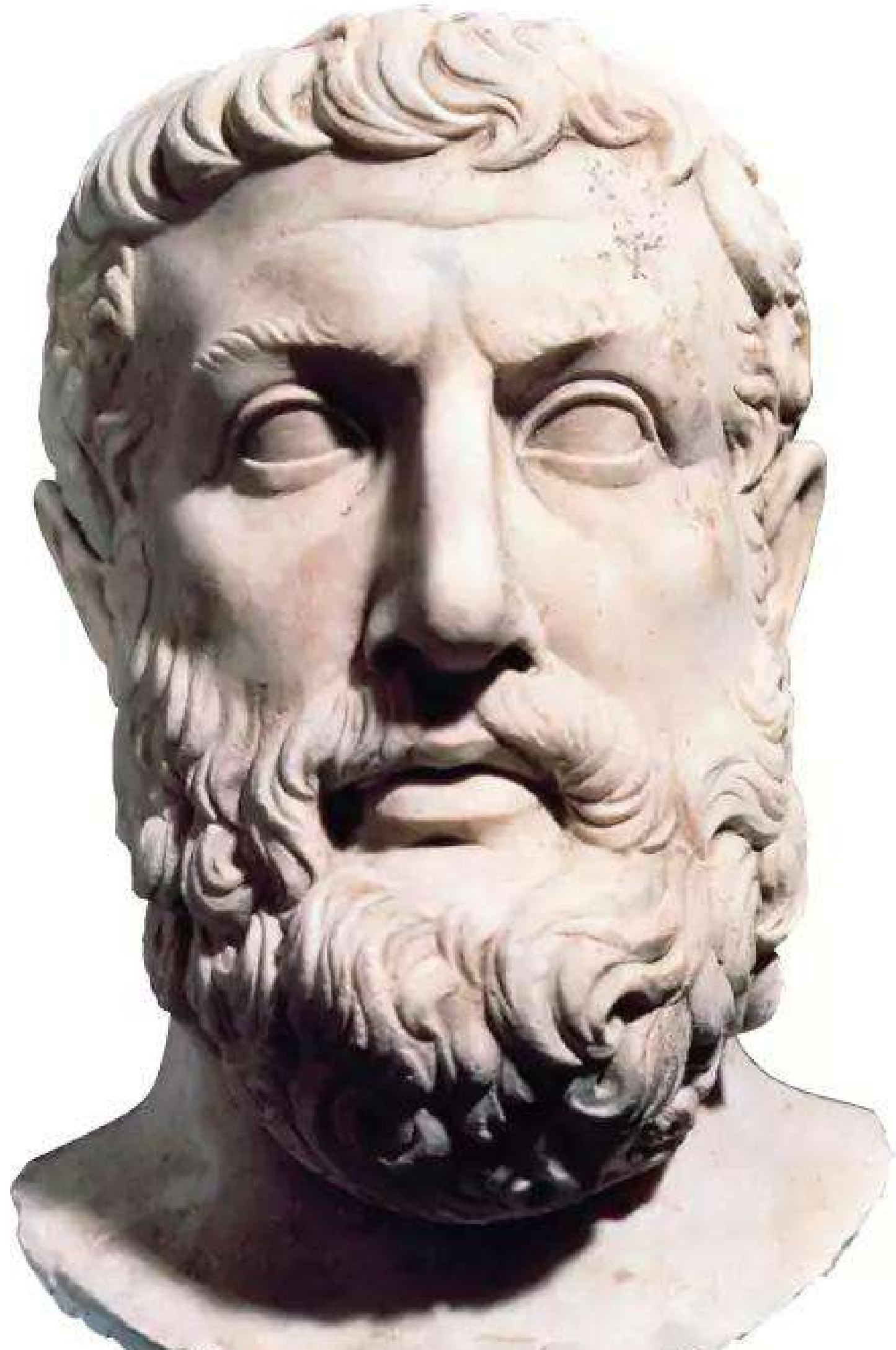


Image source: wiki/Illustrerad verldshistoria utgifven av E. Wallis. vol I

THALES OF MILETUS

C.625-C.547 BCE

Thales of Miletus is often considered to be the first philosopher and the father of Western philosophy, who founded the pre-Socratic Ionian school. At the time, the Greeks explained the origin of the world and natural events through myths and the supernatural, but Thales sought naturalistic explanations. According to Aristotle, Thales believed that water was the beginning of all things and that the Earth was a flat disk floating on an ocean. The historian Herodotus claimed that Thales, a polymath, predicted the solar eclipse that occurred on 28 May 585 BCE, which is now known as the Eclipse of Thales.



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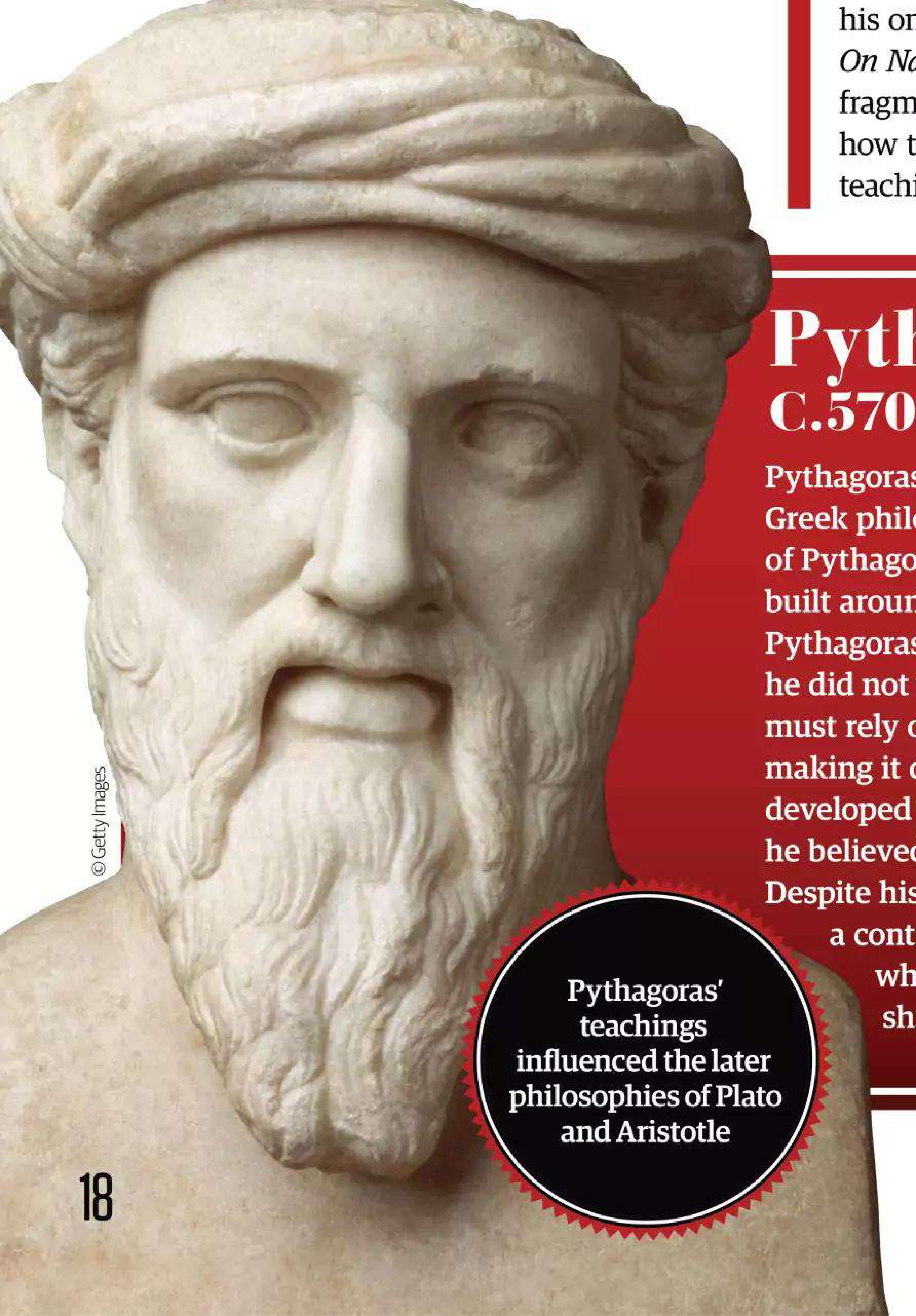
PARMENIDES OF ELEA

C.515-C.450 BCE

Another pre-Socratic Greek philosopher, Parmenides was the founder of the Eleatic school in southern Italy. He is credited as the 'father of metaphysics', believing that reality was a single unchanging and universal entity. His teachings have been reconstructed from his only known piece of work, a poem entitled *On Nature*. However, it has only survived in fragments and so there is a lot of debate on how to interpret Parmenides' poem and his teachings correctly.



© Getty Images

Pythagoras' teachings influenced the later philosophies of Plato and Aristotle

Pythagoras

C.570-C.490 BCE

Pythagoras is one of the most famous Ancient Greek philosophers. He was the founder of Pythagoreanism, a school of philosophy built around the teachings and beliefs of Pythagoras and his followers. Unfortunately, he did not write anything down himself, so we must rely on second-hand accounts about him, making it difficult to know which ideas were developed by him – although we do know that he believed in the transmigration of the soul. Despite his fame today, Pythagoras remains a controversial figure of philosophy whose life, teachings and school are shrouded in mystery and mythology.

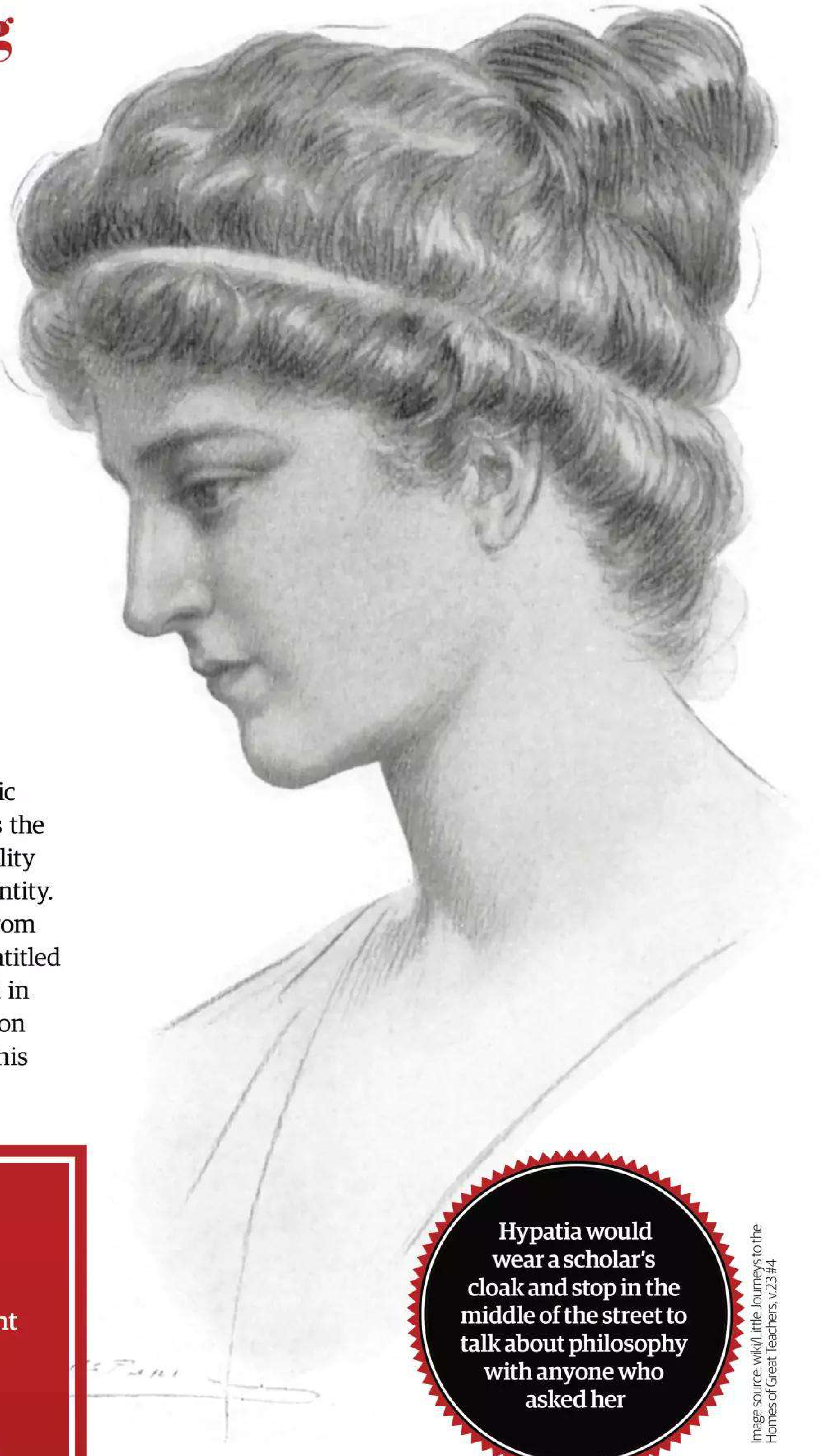


Image source: wiki/Little Journeys to the Homes of Great Teachers, v.23 #4

Hypatia would wear a scholar's cloak and stop in the middle of the street to talk about philosophy with anyone who asked her

HYPATIA

C.355-415 CE

Hypatia was a Neoplatonist philosopher who was influenced by the teachings of Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus. She delivered lectures both in her home and in public lecture halls in Alexandria, with people travelling from all over the eastern Mediterranean to hear her speak. Caught up in the middle of a political feud, Hypatia was killed by bloodthirsty mob, who attacked her as she travelled home. As a result of her horrific death, Hypatia is remembered as a martyr for philosophy.

Aristotle

384-322 BCE

Aristotle, undoubtedly one of the greatest thinkers in the history of human civilisation, shaped centuries of philosophy through his profound teachings. He studied under Plato at the Academy in Athens for two decades before he was hired as tutor for Alexander the Great. Aristotle then established his own school, the Lyceum, where he likely produced 200 works, although unfortunately only a few of them survive today. He was the founder of the science of logic and some of his most important and influential writings, based on his lecture notes, include Metaphysics, Poetics, Rhetoric, Nicomachean Ethics and Politics. Aristotle's work notably influenced the development of Islamic philosophy as well as Christian theology.

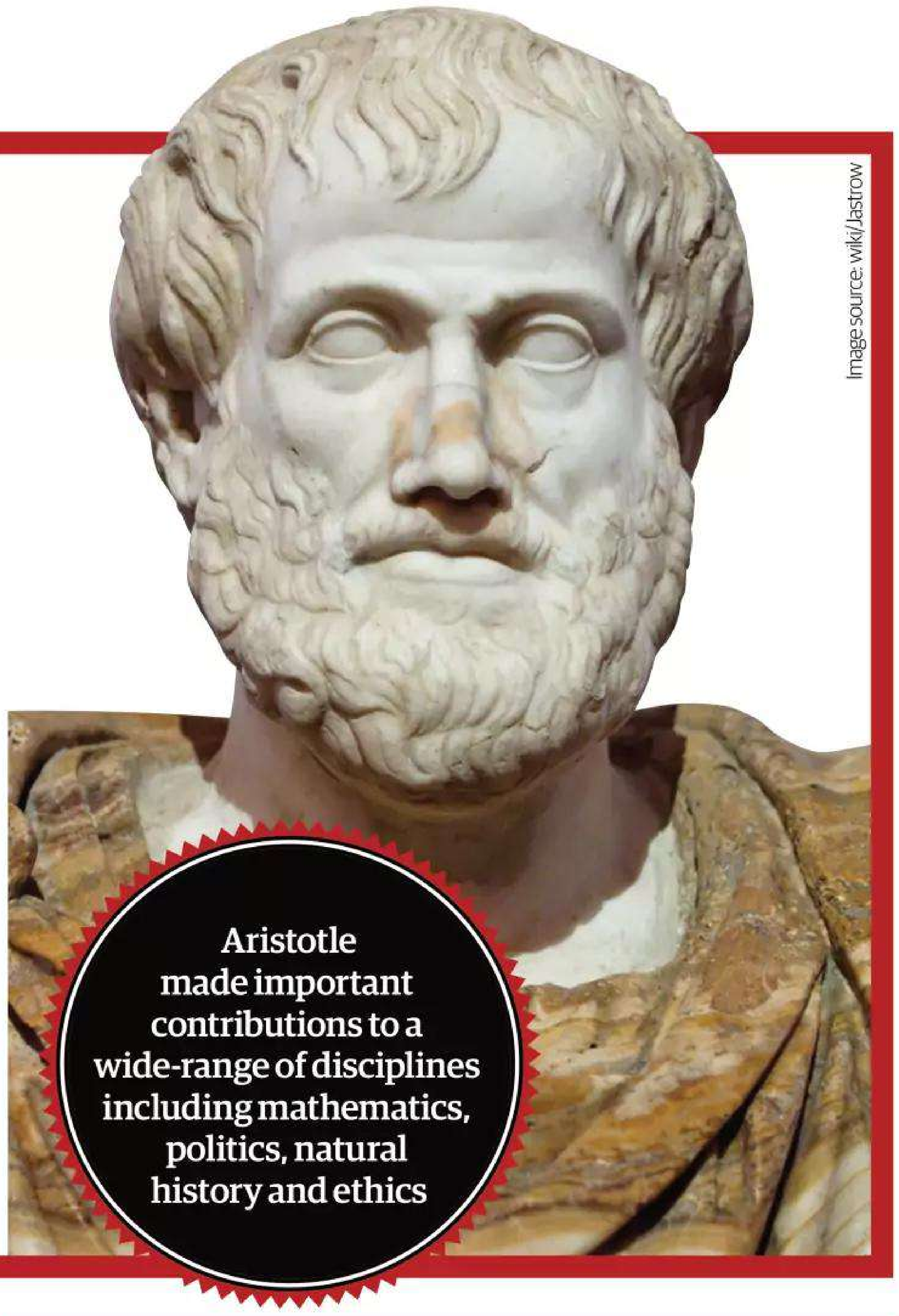


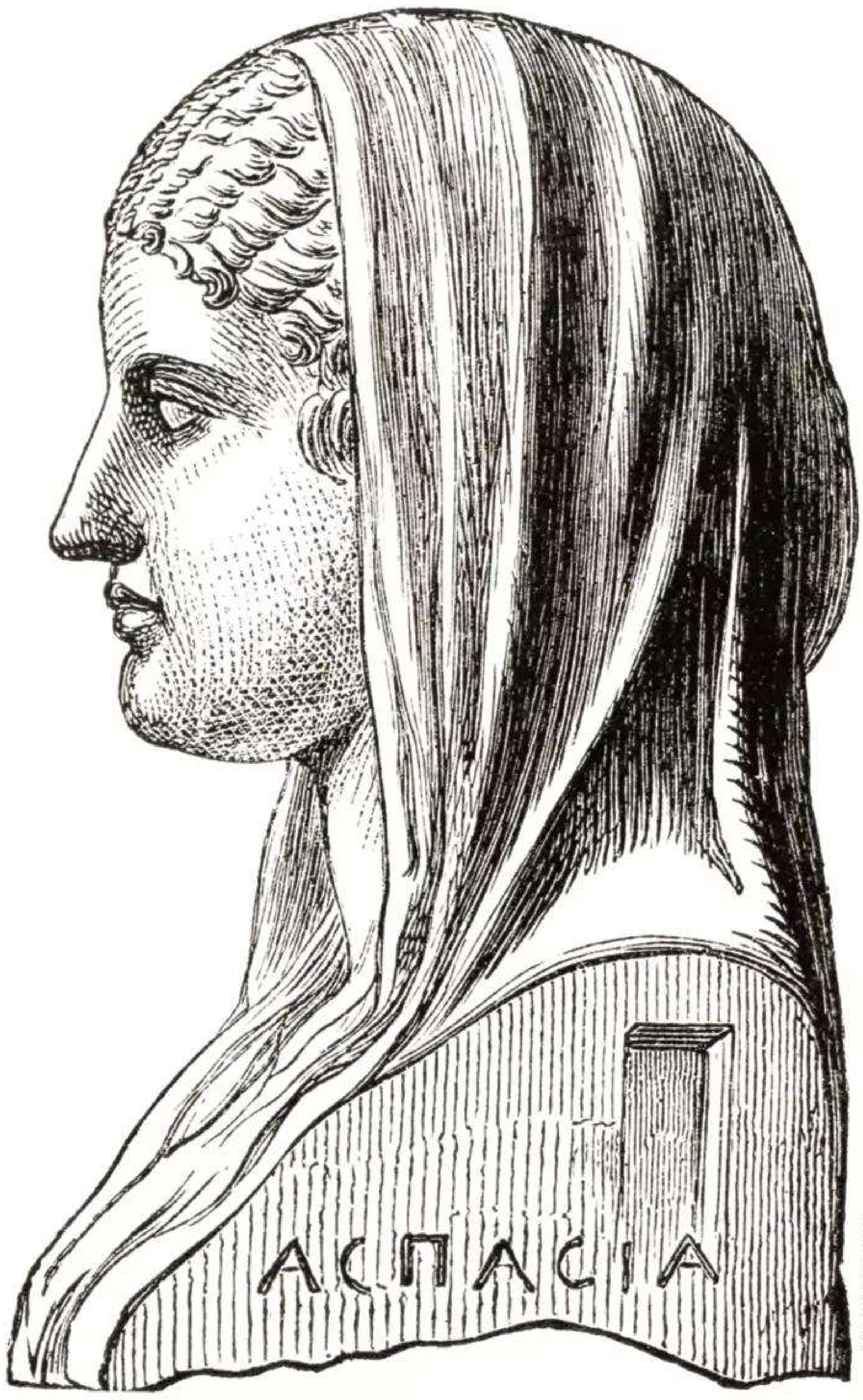
Image source: wiki/Jastrow

Aristotle made important contributions to a wide-range of disciplines including mathematics, politics, natural history and ethics

ASPASIA OF MILETUS

C.470-C.400 BCE

Aspasia was a scholar and philosopher who is perhaps best remembered as the mistress and companion of the statesman Pericles. She was known for her intellectual ability, moving in both academic and philosophical circles, and she appears in the writings of numerous Greek philosophers including Plato and Xenophon. Unfortunately none of her work survives but Socrates, in his own writings, claimed that she instructed both him and Pericles in rhetoric – a testament to her influence.



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EPICURUS

341-C.271 BCE

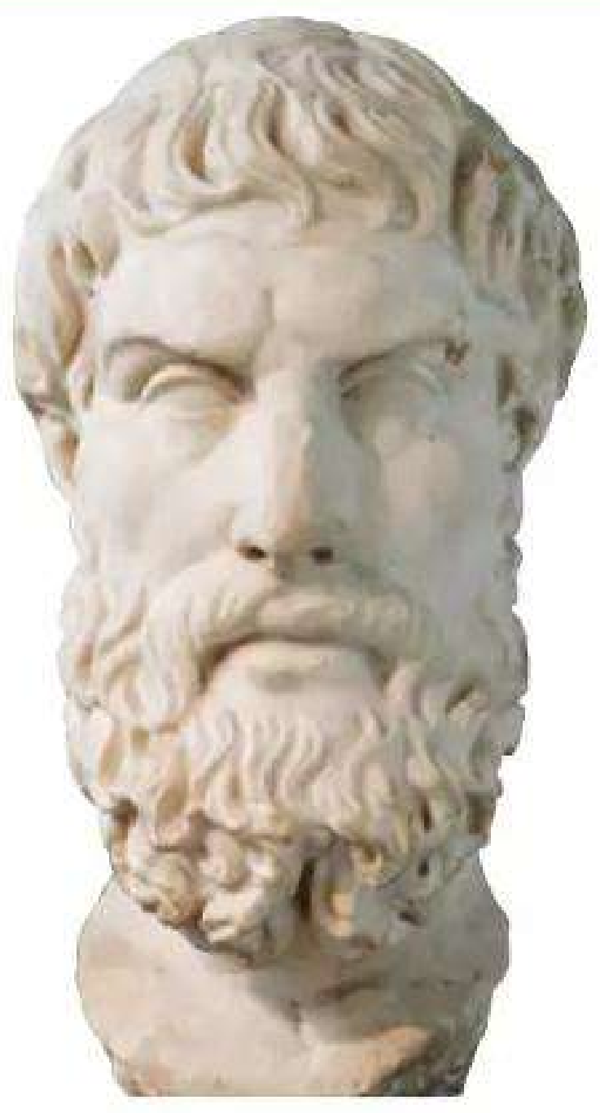


Image source: wiki/Marie-Lan Nguyen

Epicurus was the founder of Epicureanism, a school of philosophy that advocated a restrained form of hedonism. He believed that the greatest good was the absence of physical pain and freedom from fear, which could be achieved through seeking moderate pleasure. However, Epicurus counselled against overindulgence, lust and anger, advising that pleasure could be obtained through friendship, knowledge and living a virtuous life. His school, known as The Garden, in Athens, became a community of his followers, including women.

HIPPARCHIA OF MARONEIA

C.350-C.280 BCE

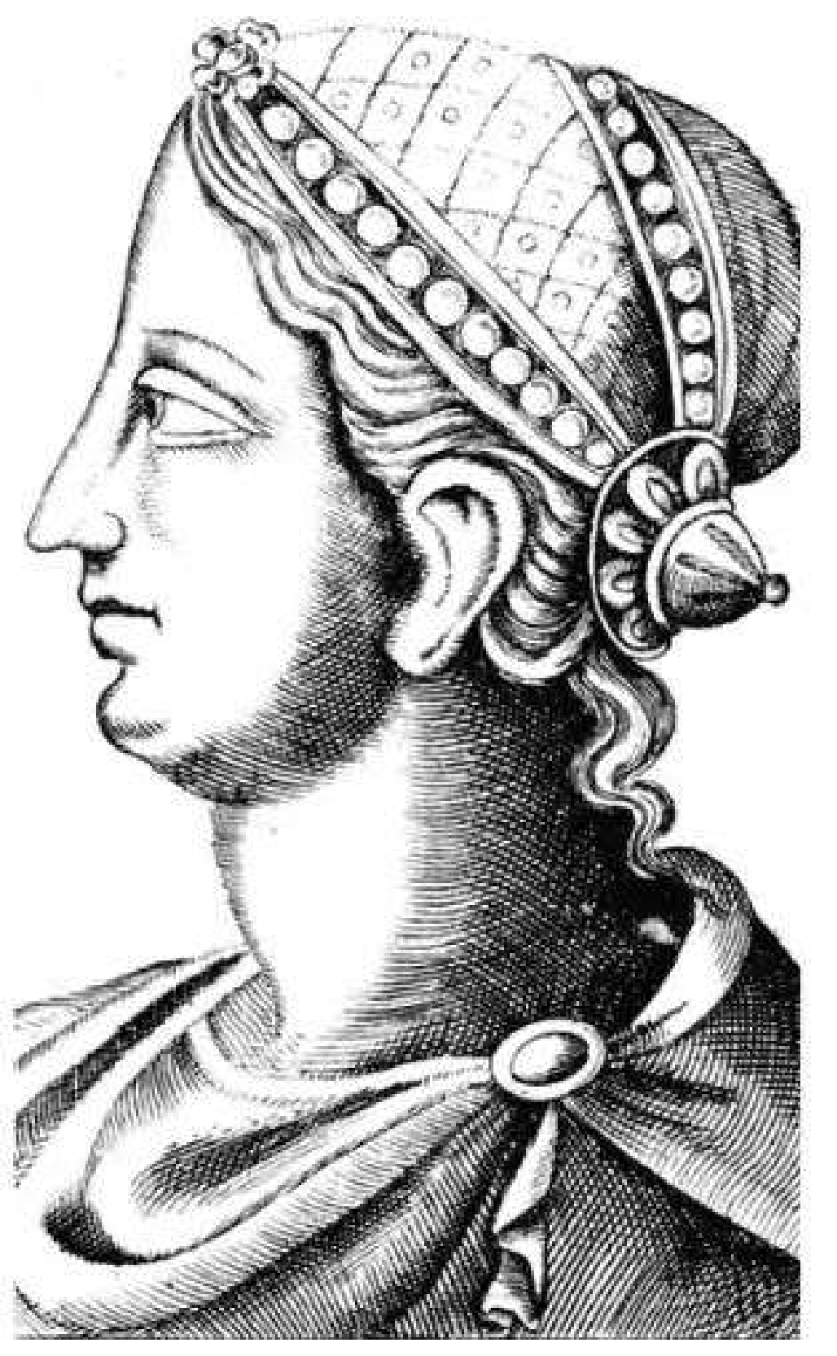


Image source: wiki/Girolamo Olgiati

Hipparchia was one of the few female philosophers in Ancient Greece. She was a Cynic philosopher like her brother, Metrokles, and her husband, Crates. With Crates, Hipparchia lived a Cynic lifestyle of poverty and together they embodied Cynic principles such as foregoing materialism and embracing self-sufficiency, believing this would place them on the path to virtue. It is thought that Hipparchia and Crates influenced their pupil, Zeno of Citium, who was the founder of Stoicism.

Pyrrho of Elis

C.365-C.275 BCE

Widely regarded as the first Greek skeptic philosopher, Pyrrho believed nothing can be truly known because every statement can be reasonably contradicted. He is often described as the founder, or at least the inspiration, for Pyrrhonism, one of the two major schools of philosophical skepticism. As Pyrrho did not leave any written work of his own, most of our information about him has been passed on to us by his student, Timon.

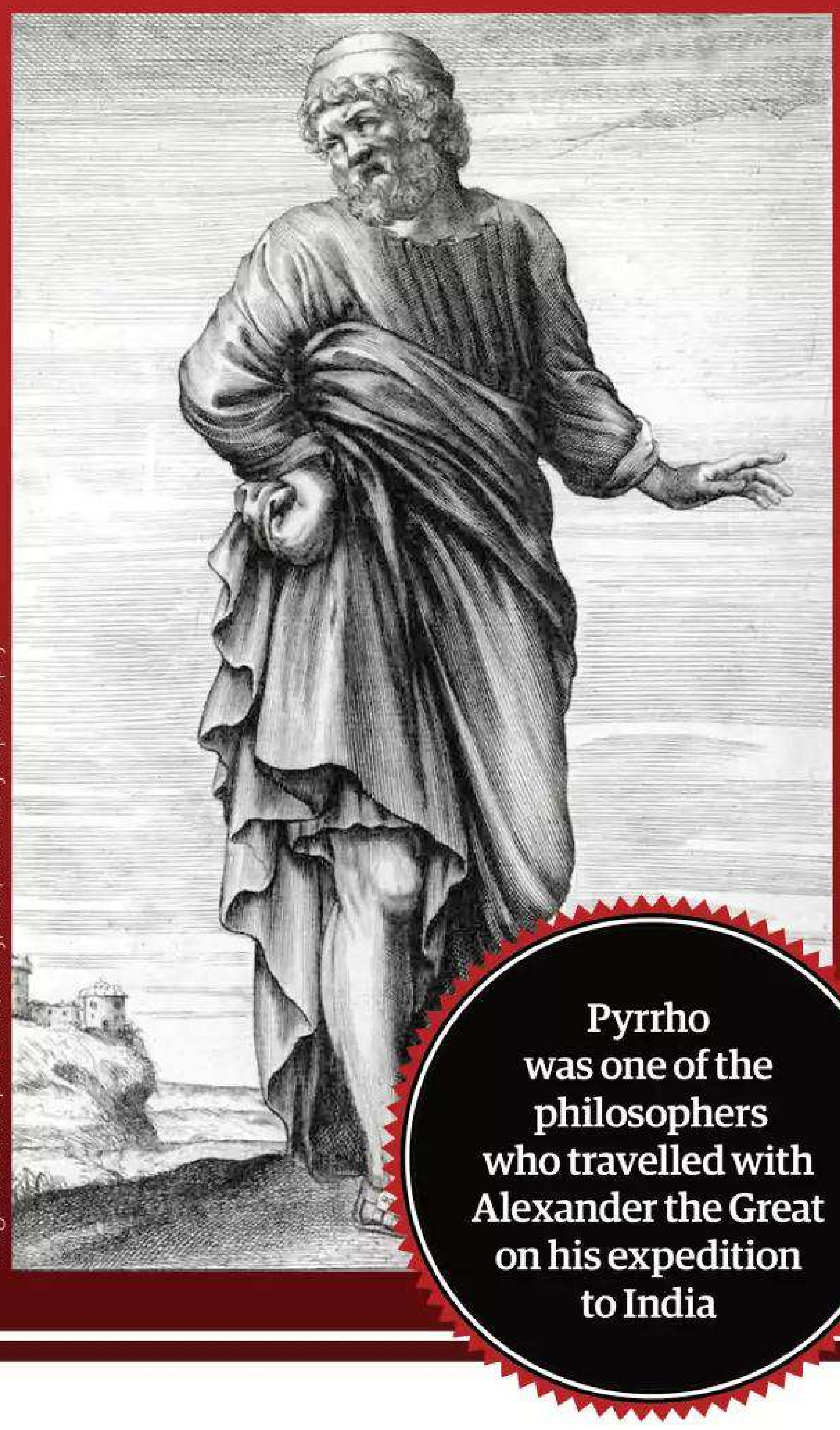
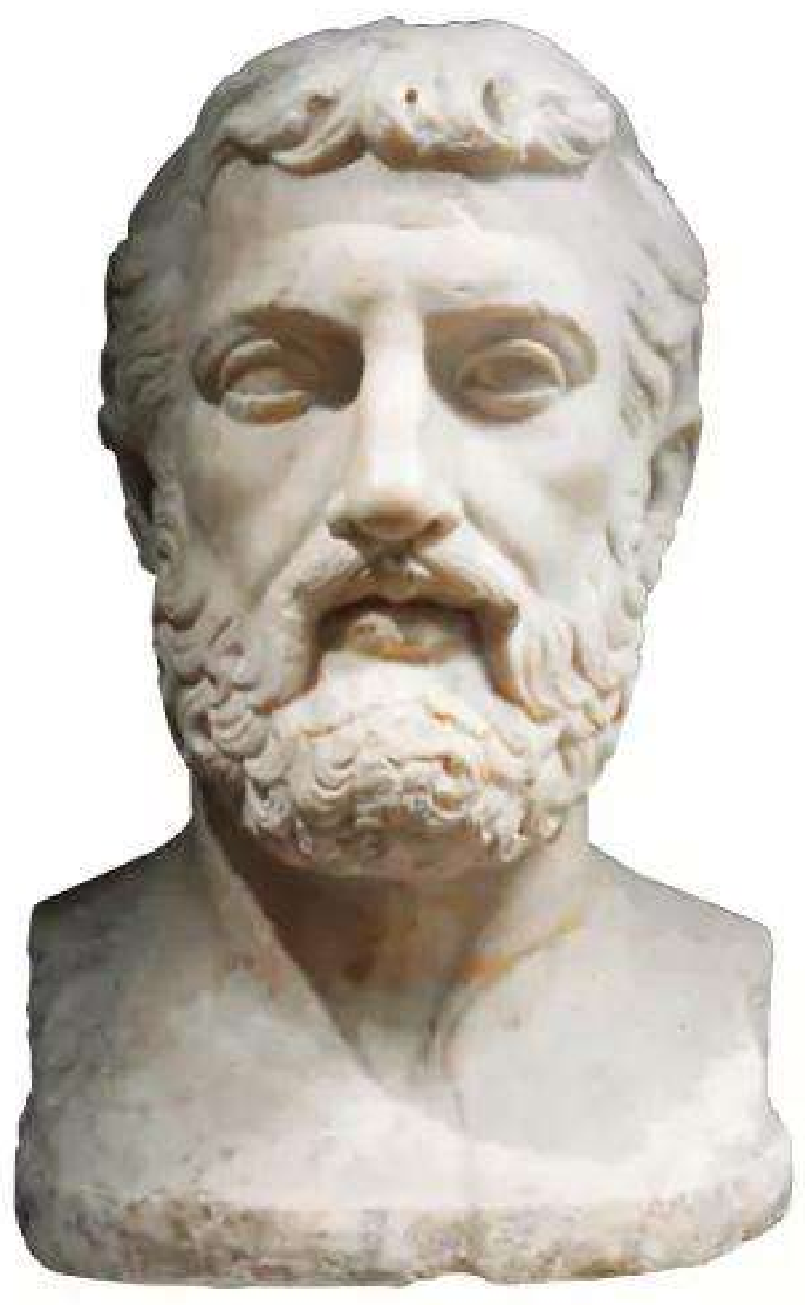


Image source: wiki/Thomas Stanley, 1655, The history of philosophy

Pyrrho was one of the philosophers who travelled with Alexander the Great on his expedition to India

ZENO OF CITIUM

C.334-C.262 BCE


© Getty Images

As the founder of the Stoic school of philosophy, Zeno attended the lectures of several philosophers before developing his own philosophy. He was a pupil of Crates the Cynic and his wife, Hipparchia, who influenced his belief that men should aim for self-sufficiency. Unlike Epicurus' philosophy, which advocated seeking pleasure, Zeno's philosophy argued that men should recognise all things were without lasting value and that virtue was the only good. For Zeno, natural law was the key principle of the universe and men should live in accordance with reason. Stoicism went on to become the dominant philosophy in the Roman period.

Q&A with...

Headshot source: Edith Hall

PROFESSOR EDITH HALL

Homer's epics have fascinated the world for centuries, but did the Trojan War actually happen?

The story of the Trojan War was made famous by Homer's two epic poems, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Can you give a summary of the poems for our readers?
The *Iliad* narrates the events that took place in both the Greek camp and the Trojan citadel during the Trojan War over about 40 days, culminating in the funeral of the Trojans' best warrior, Hector, and the laments led by his sister Cassandra, wife Andromache, mother Hecuba and sister-in-law Helen. Its structure is provided by the rage which consumes the greatest Greek fighter, Achilles, and the effect that it has on both communities. First, he quarrels with his overlord, Agamemnon, who insults him by expropriating his favourite concubine Briseis. And secondly, he becomes obsessed with avenging himself on Hector, who's killed his closest friend, Patroclus. His wrath is not assuaged until he has slaughtered Hector and mutilated his corpse.

The *Odyssey* is set in the aftermath of the fall of Troy. It narrates Agamemnon's clever lieutenant Odysseus' eventual return from Calypso's island, where he is detained when the poem opens, to his island home of Ithaca, wife Penelope and son Telemachus. At his last stopping-place before Ithaca, the fantastic island of Phaeacia, Odysseus relates the other strange encounters he has experienced during his wanderings, including the Cyclops, Circe, the Sirens and the Underworld. On Ithaca, he spends days in disguise because his household has been unlawfully occupied by local chieftains, who devour food from his land, pester his wife to marry them and plot the death of his son. Eventually, with Telemachus and some loyal slaves, he takes his bloody revenge.

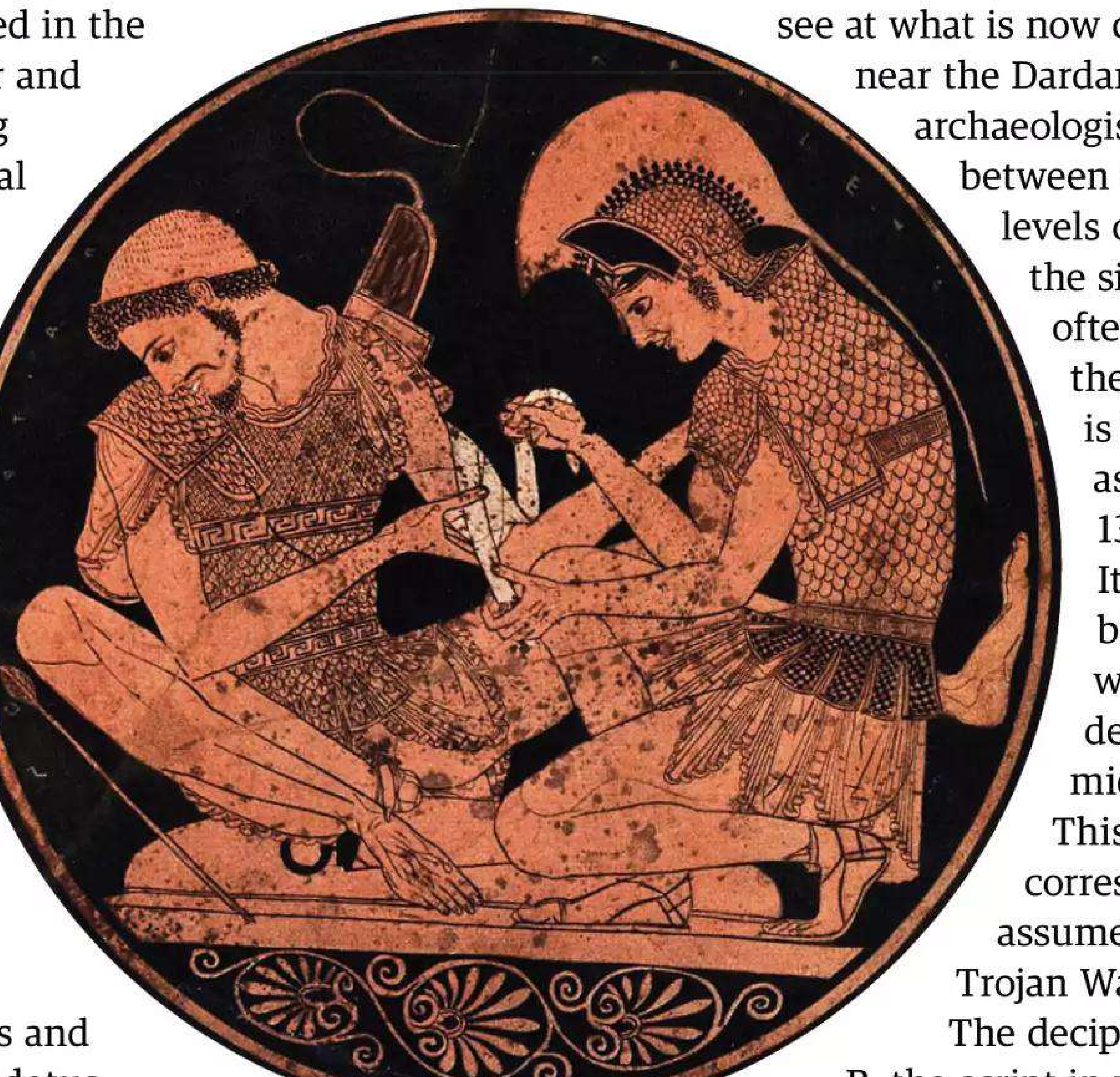
What do we know about Homer and why is he such an enigmatic figure?
He is enigmatic precisely because we know so little about him, and even whether an individual epic bard named Homer working in an oral culture even existed. It may have been the traditional name given by later authors to the assumed composer of these poems. The name itself, which means 'hostage', is unusual. The most likely hypothesis is that the poems were developed over centuries from the Mycenaean age to the late 8th century BCE, when the introduction of the phonetic alphabet allowed them to take their final form, by multiple itinerant professional bards who performed at religious festivals. They may have been based in the Greek cities of Asia Minor and adjacent islands including Chios, 'Homer's' traditional birthplace.

Aside from Homer's two poems, what other literary sources do we have about the Trojan War?
All subsequent Ancient Greek and Roman literature is saturated in the Homeric poems, which were at the heart of the curriculum for the remainder of antiquity. Some historians and geographers such as Herodotus, Thucydides and Strabo made well-informed guesses about the war. The most important reworkings of the myth in literature were in Greek tragedy, especially *The Trojan Women* and *Hecuba* by Euripides and *Ajax* and *Philoctetes* by Sophocles. In Virgil's *Aeneid*, composed more than seven centuries after the Homeric epics, the hero Aeneas describes the fall of Troy in vivid detail and meets other survivors of the war, including Hector's wife Andromache.

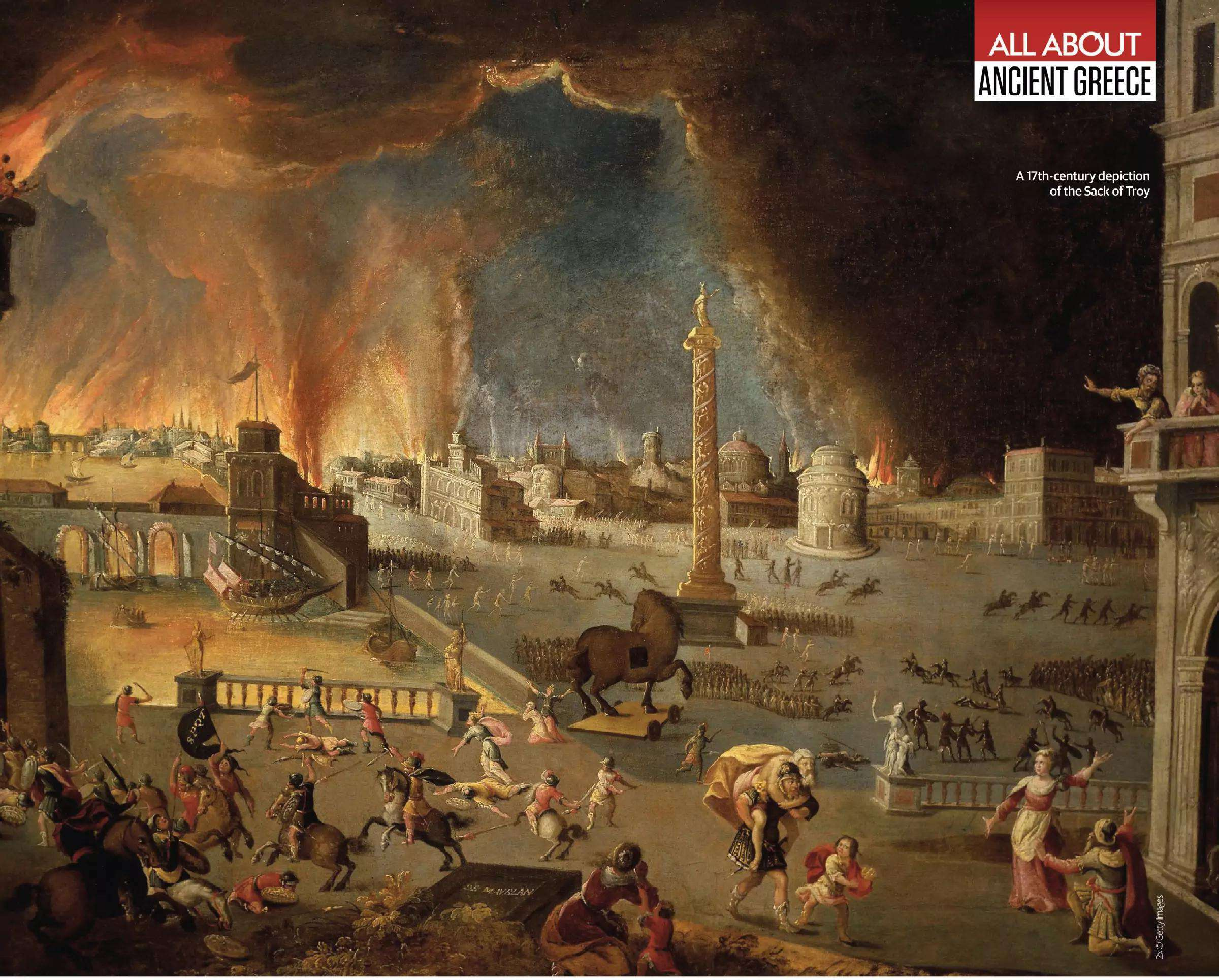
There is a lot of debate over whether there actually was a Trojan War. Do we have any evidence to suggest that it was real?
The Persian King Xerxes, the Greek Alexander the Great and the Roman Julius Caesar all believed in the historicity of the war and visited Troy. They identified it with the ruins of the deserted settlement which they could see at what is now called Hissarlik near the Dardanelles. But archaeologists distinguish between many different levels of occupation on the site. The level most often identified with the Troy of the *Iliad* is technically known as Troy VIh (15th to 13th centuries BCE). It had imposing bastions and sloping walls and was destroyed in the mid-13th century. This would plausibly correspond with the assumed date of the Trojan War.

The decipherment of Linear B, the script in which Mycenaean Greeks wrote, has excitingly revealed that real individuals 500 years before 'Homer' bore names including Achilles and Hector. The way women are treated in the *Iliad* seems reflected in some

Edith Hall is professor in the Classics Department at King's Collect London, specialising in Ancient Greek literature and cultural history. She has published several books including *Aristotle's Way: Ten Ways Ancient Wisdom Can Change Your Life* (The Bodley Head, 2018) and *A People's History Of Classics: Class And Greco-Roman Antiquity In Britain 1689-1939* (Routledge, 2020).



Achilles bandaging the wound of his friend Patroclus



A 17th-century depiction of the Sack of Troy

2x © Getty Images

> **“All subsequent Ancient Greek and Roman literature is saturated in the Homeric poems”**

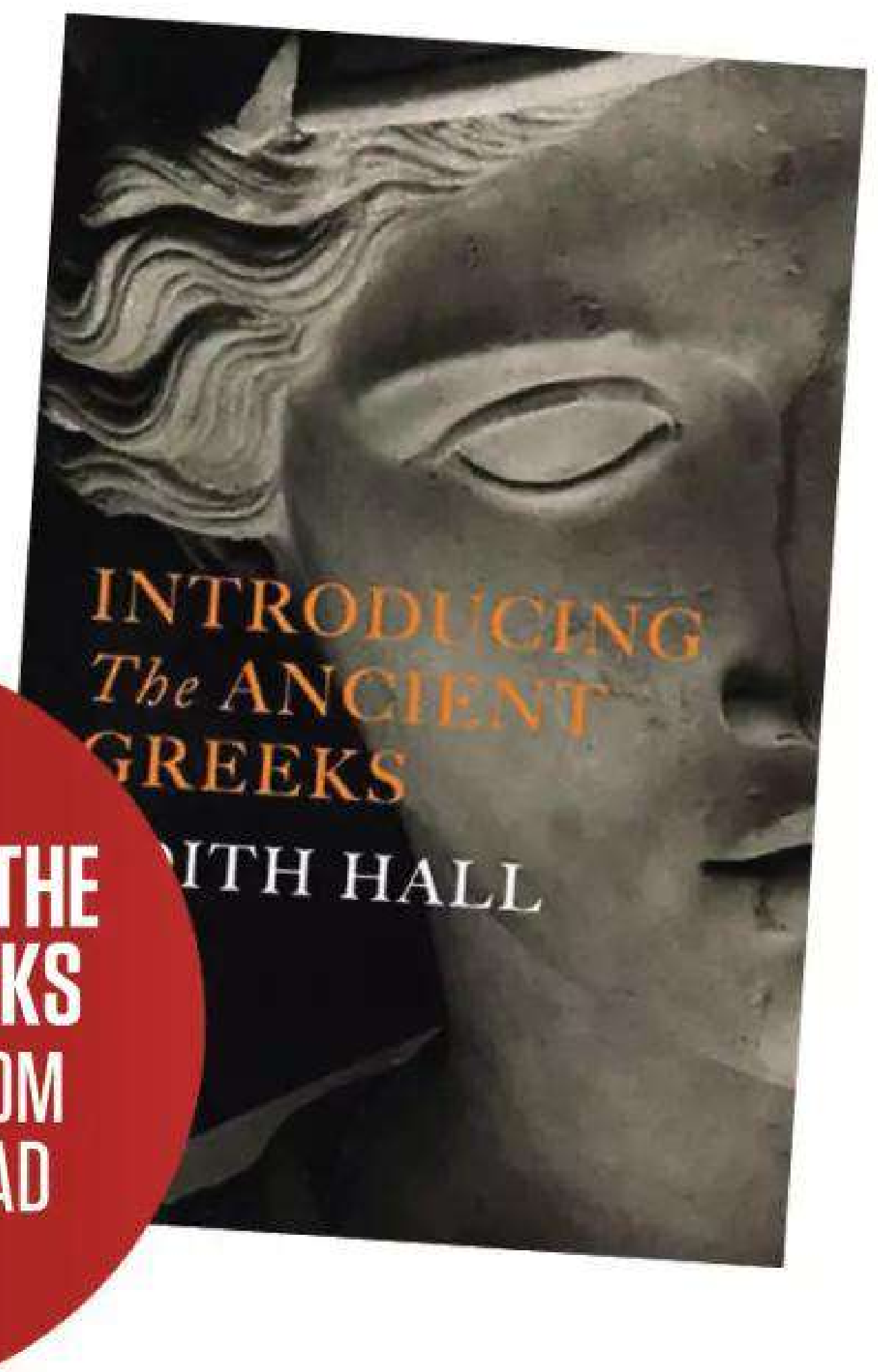
Linear B tablets, which indicate that the labour force was recruited by raids in which captive women and children were brought home and taught trades. The places where the women are said to have come from are across the sea in the eastern islands and Asia Minor.

There are also a few pieces of evidence in languages other than Greek. Texts inscribed by Hittites, the rulers of a large empire in central Anatolia who were active at the supposed time of the Trojan War, attest the names ‘Ahhiyawa’, ‘Wilusa’, ‘Taruisa’, ‘Lazpa’, ‘Alaksandu’ and ‘Piyama-Radu’, which have been identified with the Achaeans, Ilium, Troy, Lesbos, Alexander (Paris’ alternative name) and Priam.

But trying to fit the story told in the *Iliad* to 13th-century history is not the best way to understand it. It is how the Greeks of 500 years later liked to imagine their past. They will have been able to see ruins at Troy, and no doubt durable antiques – armour, for example, or shards of pottery – could help them elaborate the tale. But the concerns which are addressed in the Homeric epics are those which occupied the minds of the Greeks of the eighth century, many of whom had colonised the western seaboard of what is now Turkey and so had a folk memory of conflict with the natives of western Asia, transposed into their shared and fictionalised prehistory.

Why does the story of the Trojan War continue to fascinate us over 2,800 years later?

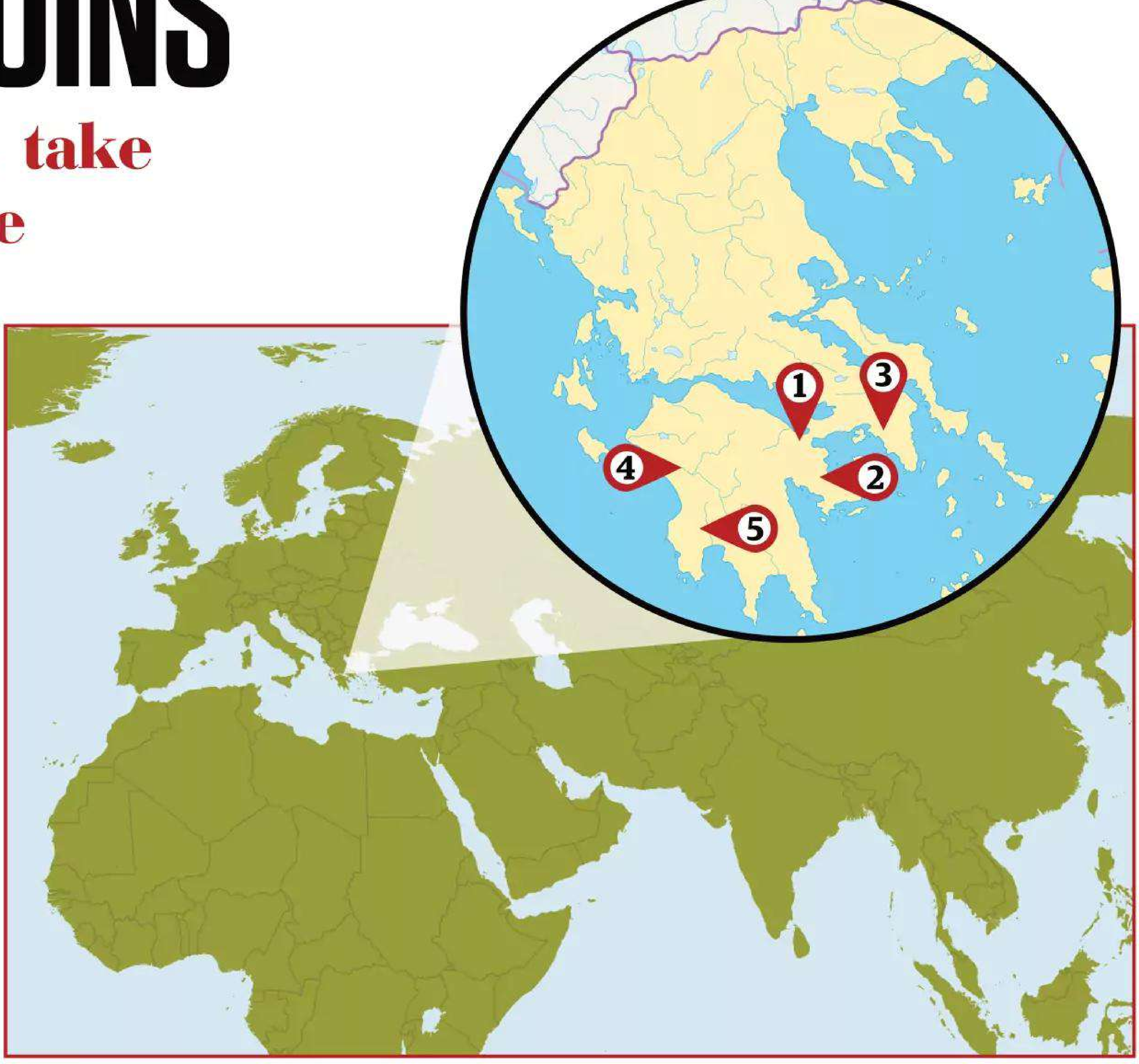
The popularity of the story waxes and wanes: since 9/11 it has become much more prominent in film, TV, poetry and fiction because it is the archetypal conflict of West vs East and because the themes of exile and migration are so painfully topical. But I honestly believe the story’s stamina is a result of the aesthetic brilliance of the Homeric epics. You can read more about that in my books *The Return Of Ulysses* (2008) and *Introducing The Ancient Greeks* (2015).



INTRODUCING THE ANCIENT GREEKS IS OUT NOW FROM THE BODLEY HEAD

REMARKABLE RUINS

Breathtaking locations that take you back to Ancient Greece



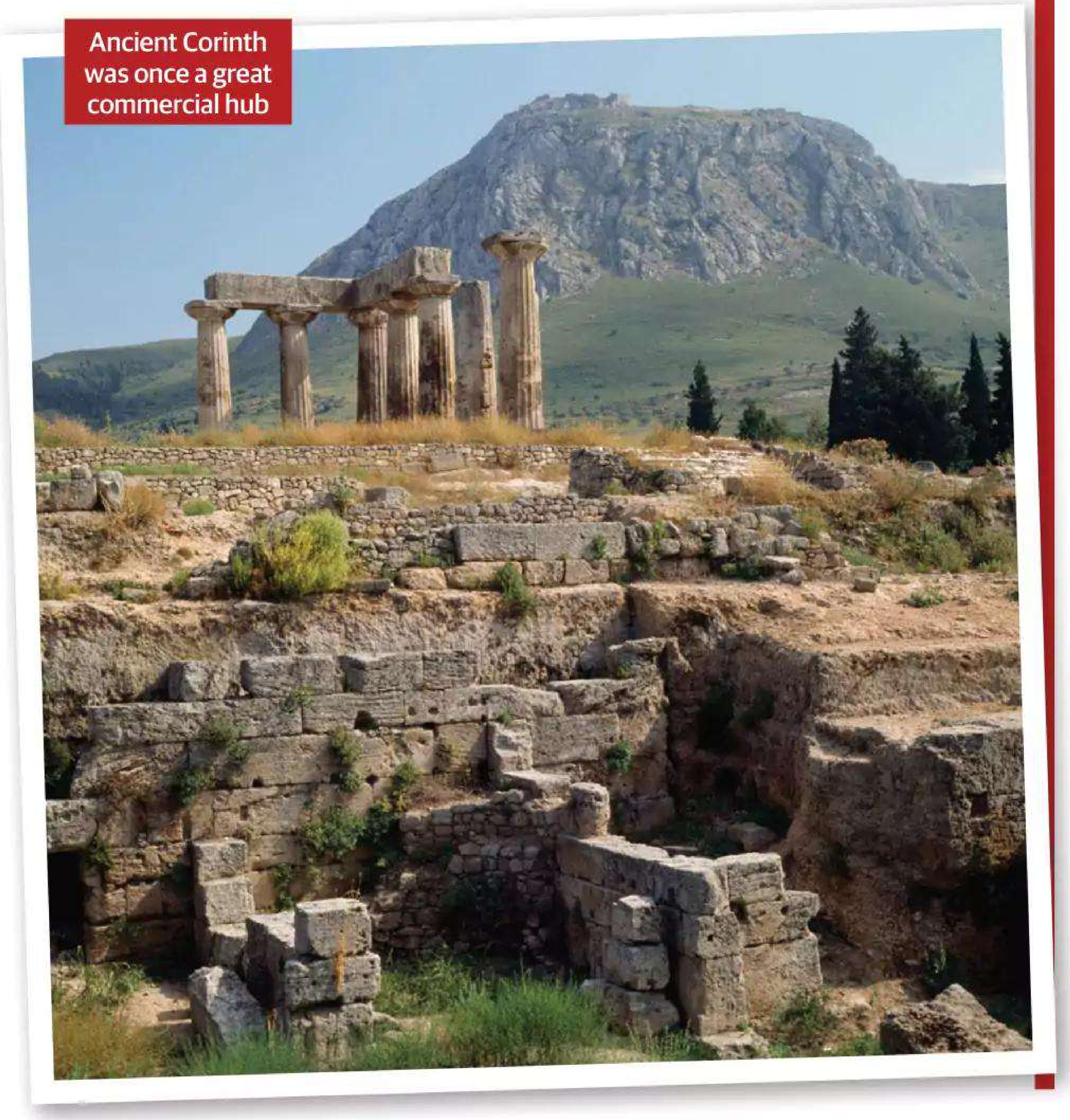
All images: © Getty Images

1 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE OF ANCIENT CORINTH

CORINTH

Located around an hour's drive from Athens, the archaeological site of Ancient Corinth is the perfect place for a day trip. Once one of the wealthiest city states in the country thanks to its position between the Peloponnese and central Greece, Ancient Corinth was a great commercial and trade centre, renowned for exporting black-figure pottery until the mid-6th century BCE. The site boasts a fortified acropolis, the Acrocorinth, on a steep monolithic rock above Ancient Corinth, where parts from the Classical period are still visible alongside fortifications that were added by the Byzantines and the Franks. Visitors can also explore the temple of Apollo – one of the earliest Doric temples – which remains as a testimony to the city's former glory, as well as other buildings such as the theatre, the agora, the sanctuary of Asklepios and the sanctuary of Demeter and Kore. The Ancient Corinth Museum can also be found within the archaeological site, with excavated artefacts such as sculptures and ceramics on display.

Open daily 8:30am-3pm. Average adult ticket is €8.


Ancient Corinth was once a great commercial hub

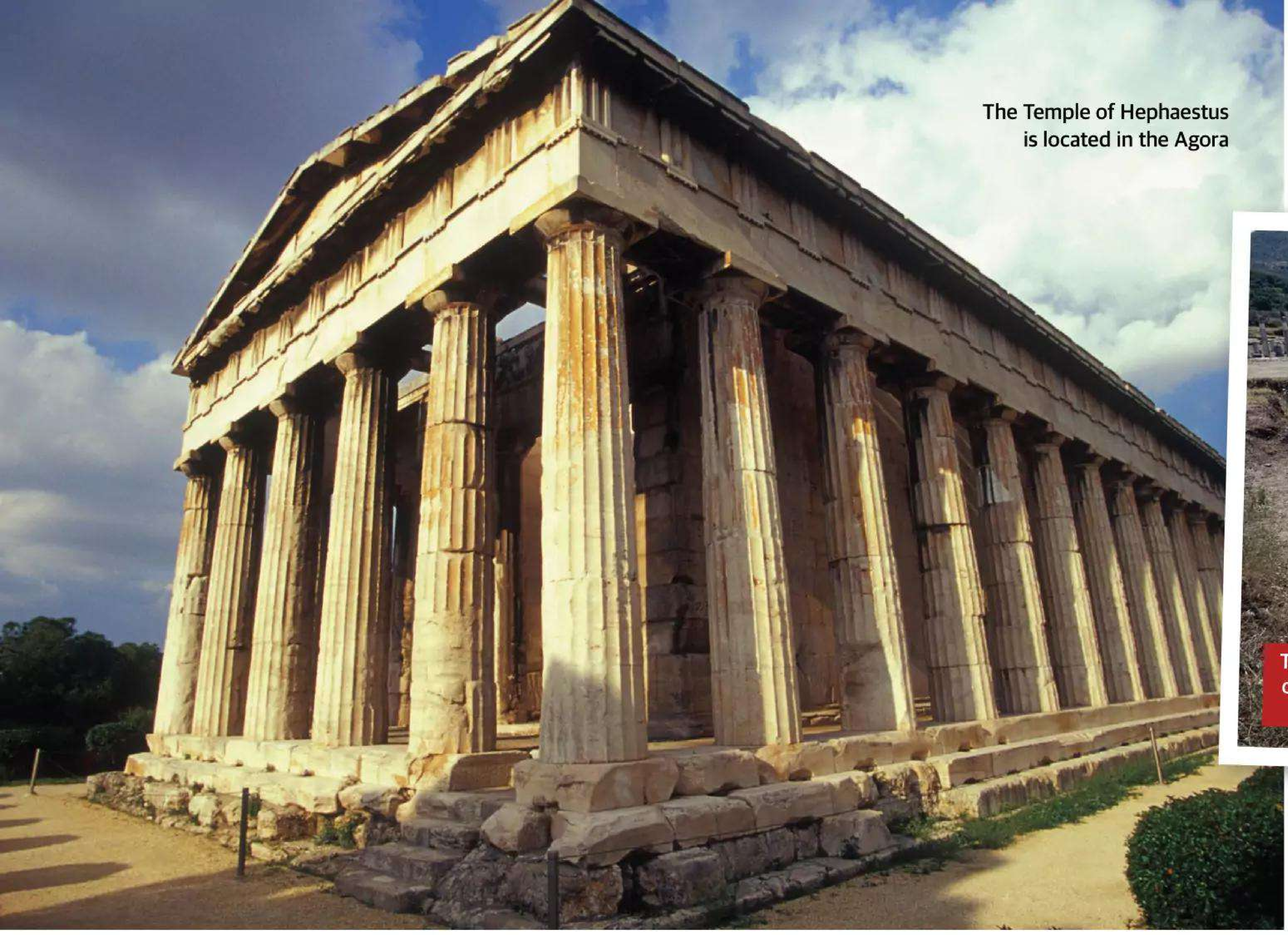
2 SANCTUARY OF ASKLEPIOS

EPIDAURUS

The renowned Theatre of Epidaurus

This Ancient Greek sanctuary was one of the many that were dedicated to the god of medicine, Asklepios. The healing cult of Asklepios at Epidaurus used the sanctuary as a health centre and there were a variety of treatments available, including baths, exercise, pharmaceuticals and surgery. To determine the treatment they would need, people would sleep in the abaton (a dormitory) where Asklepios would appear in their dreams and tell them what they needed to do. There is plenty for visitors to see across this vast site, including the temple of Asklepios, which used to house a statue of the god himself, as well as the Tholos, an iconic circular building. The sanctuary also boasts a museum and the best-preserved theatre in Greece, the Theatre of Epidaurus, which is widely regarded as a masterpiece of Greek architecture. The theatre was built in the late-4th century BCE and is famous for its exceptional acoustics, with live performances still held there to this day.

Open daily, 8am-5pm. Average ticket price is €6 (Nov-Mar) & €12 (Apr-Oct).



The Temple of Hephaestus is located in the Agora

3 ANCIENT AGORA OF ATHENS

ATHENS

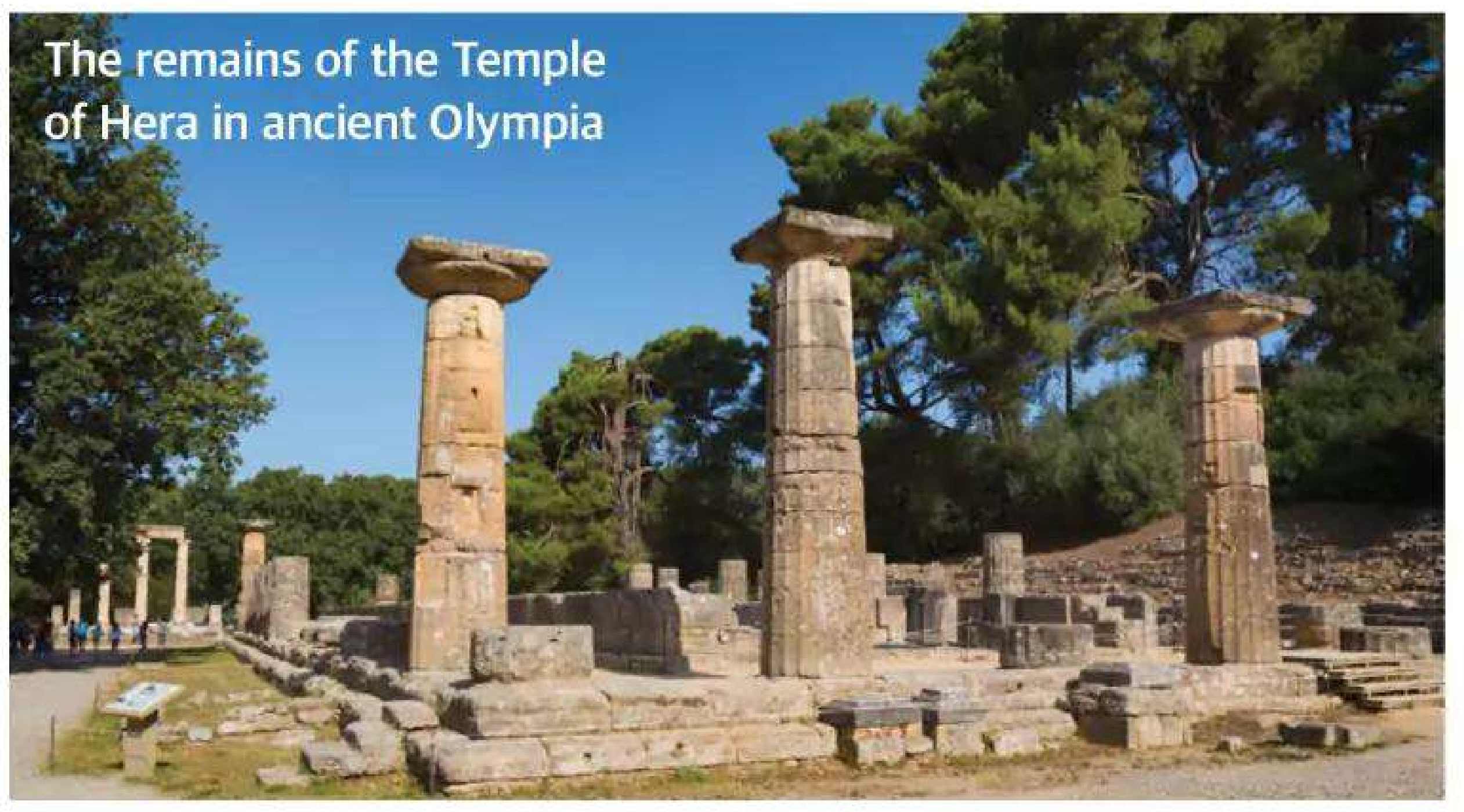
The Ancient Agora is one of the most important sites of Athens alongside the world-famous Acropolis, located in the heart of the city. Cited as the place where Greek democracy began, it was here at the Ancient Agora where the law courts, the city council and magistrates all gathered, although the most of the buildings they used were destroyed by the Persians during the siege of Athens in 480 BCE. The Agora was also a religious, commercial and cultural hub, frequented by great minds such as Plato, Aristotle and Socrates. Arguably the most significant monuments of the Agora are the Temple of Hephaestus, the best-preserved ancient temple in Greece, and the Stoa of Attalos. Originally built by King Attalos of Pergamon in the 2nd century BCE and used for a variety of purposes, including as a market, the Stoa was reconstructed in the 1950s and houses the Museum Of The Ancient Agora.

Open daily 8am-6:30pm. Average adult ticket is €10.

4 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE OF OLYMPIA

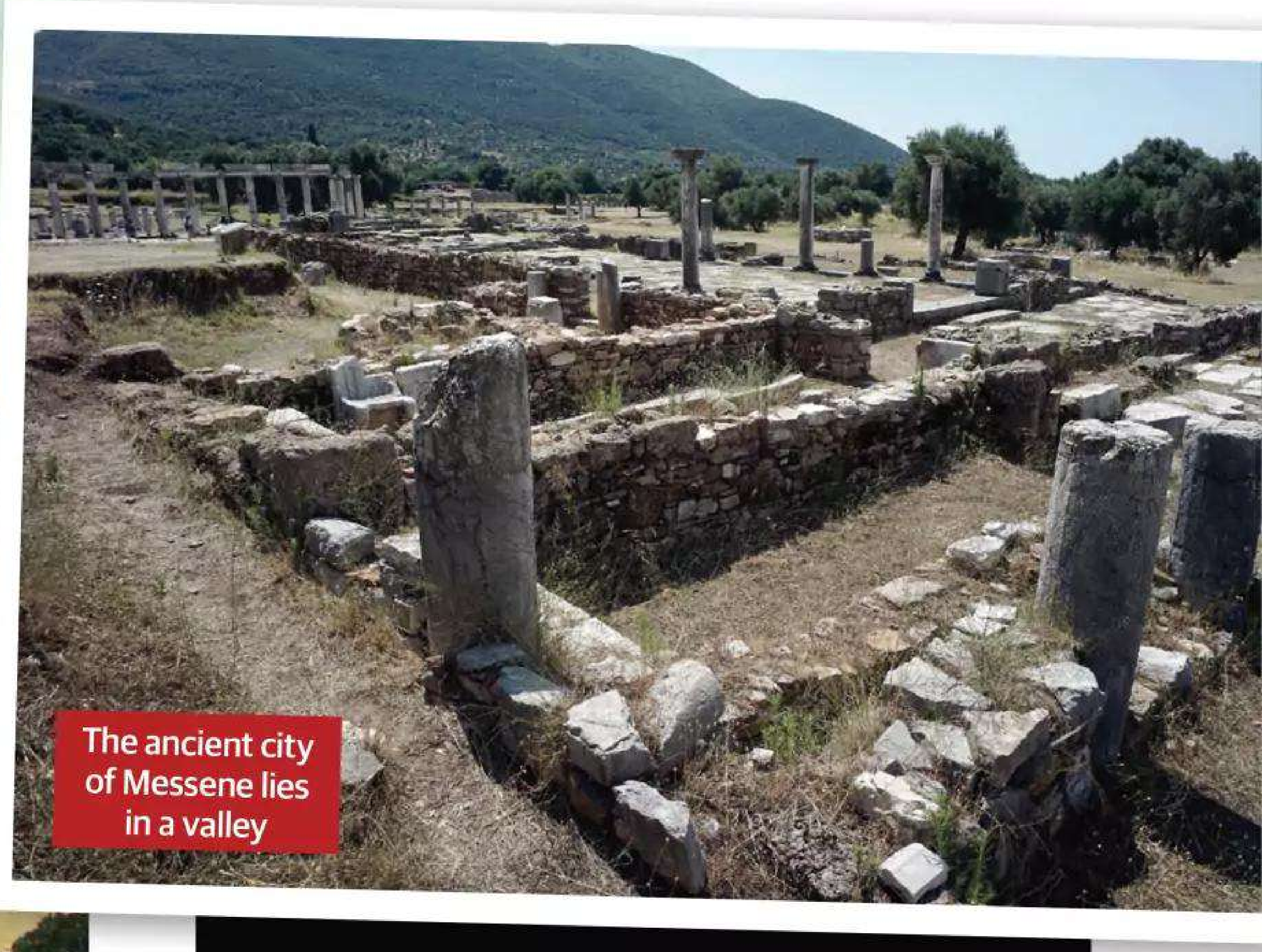
OLYMPIA

Most people are familiar with Olympia as the birthplace of the Olympic Games, the most important sporting event in the world. From 776 BCE to 393 CE, the Games were held every four years and the remains of all the sports structures can still be seen today. This includes the stadium of Olympia, where all the athletic competitions were held, and which could seat approximately 45,000 spectators. Aside from being the site of the Olympics, Olympia was also a centre for the worship of the Greek god Zeus and it was named after his home, Mount Olympus. There was once a massive temple dedicated to Zeus, built between c.470-456 BCE, which became the model for Doric temples in the region. However, it was destroyed by an earthquake and all that remains are the temple's pedimental sculptures and metopes. Although in ruins, the Temple of Hera is still an impressive sight and is one of the oldest monuments in Greece. In fact, it is at the altar of this temple that the Olympic flame is lit before its journey around the world. For visitors who want to learn more about the site, Olympia boasts two museums filled with artefacts: the Archaeological Museum and the Museum Of The History Of The Ancient Olympic Games.



The remains of the Temple of Hera in ancient Olympia

Open daily 8am-8pm. Average adult ticket is €12.



The ancient city of Messene lies in a valley

5 ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITE OF ANCIENT MESSENE

MESSENE

The impressive remains of the ancient city of Messene are perhaps one of the most underrated attractions in Greece. It was founded in 371 BCE by Epaminondas, the Theban general, after he defeated the Spartans at the Battle of Leuctra, with his victory freeing the Messenians after almost 350 years under Spartan rule. As a result, Messene became an artistic, political, economic, social and religious centre for the free Messenians, whose status had been reduced under the Spartans. Epaminondas oversaw the fortifications of the city, including a 9km wall complete with towers and battlements, and the Arcadian Gate. The remains of all of these can still be seen today. Unlike many other sites, Messene was never destroyed or taken over by later settlements and so it is one of the best-preserved cities from antiquity. As a result, there is plenty for visitors to explore with numerous religious and public buildings, houses and funerary monuments, some of which have also been partly reconstructed. There are also remains of Messene's own sanctuary of Asklepios (just like in Epidauras) which also included a bouleuterion, a council or assembly house. The Ancient Museum Of Messene is located next to the archaeological site, packed with the collection of artefacts that have been uncovered during excavations at the site.

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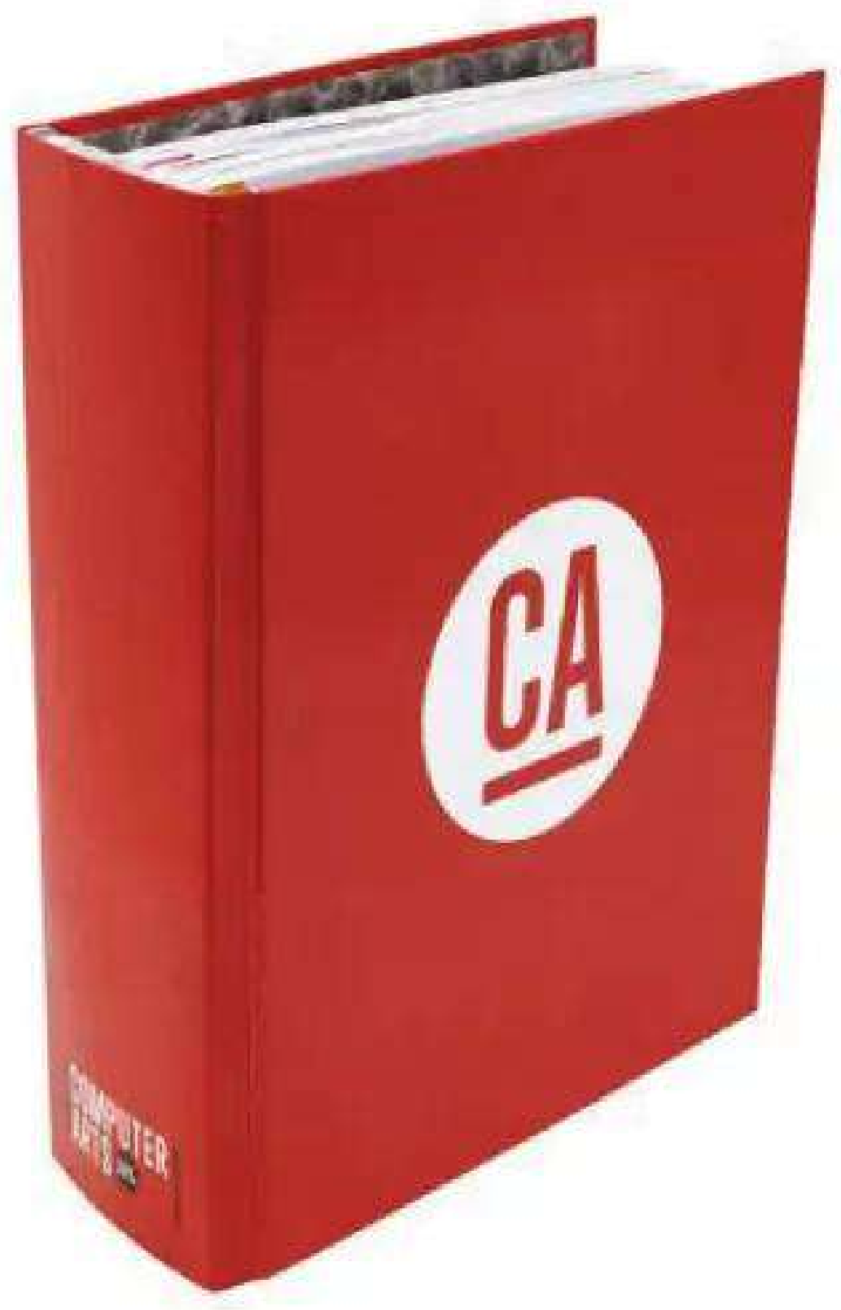

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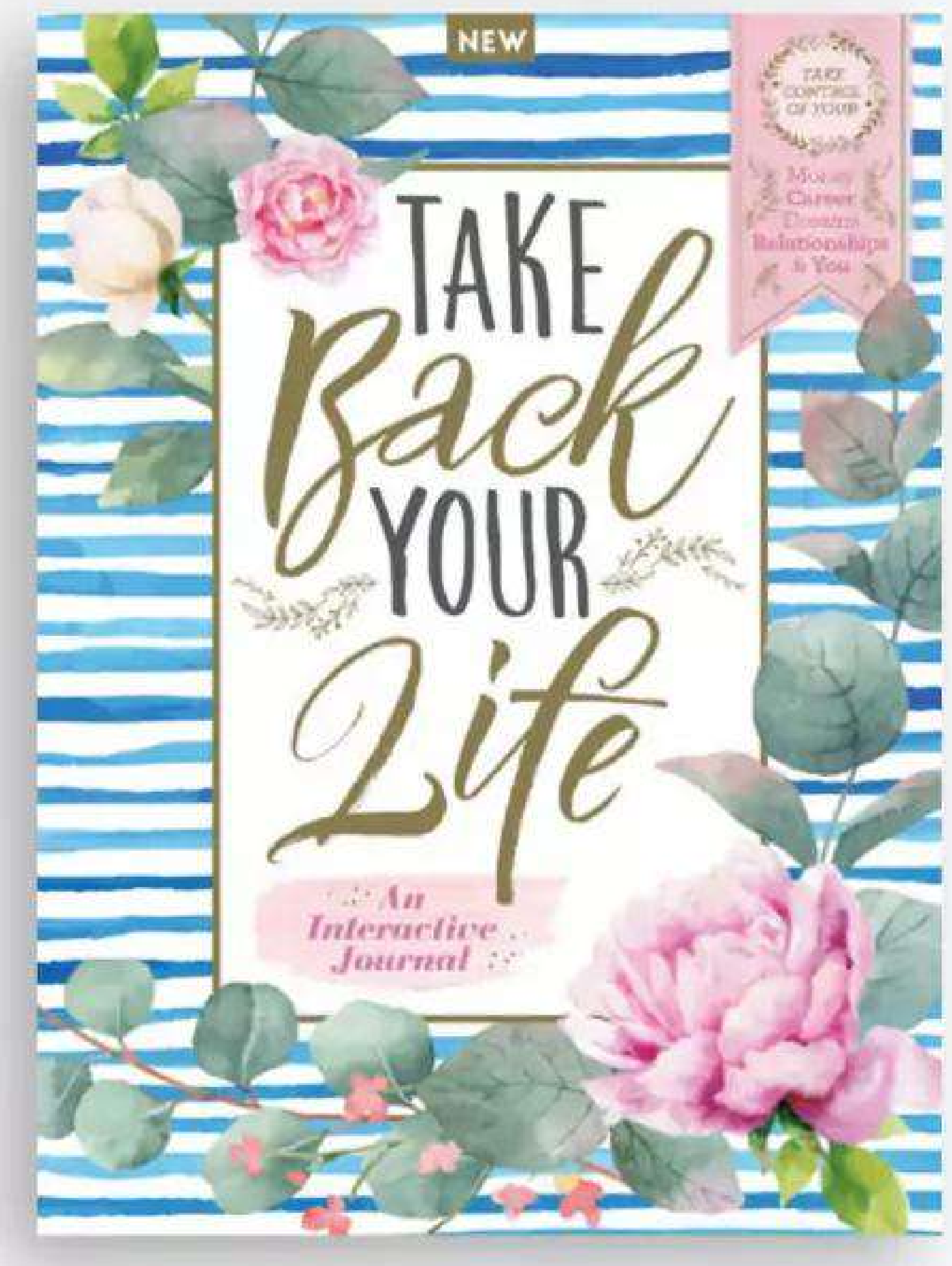
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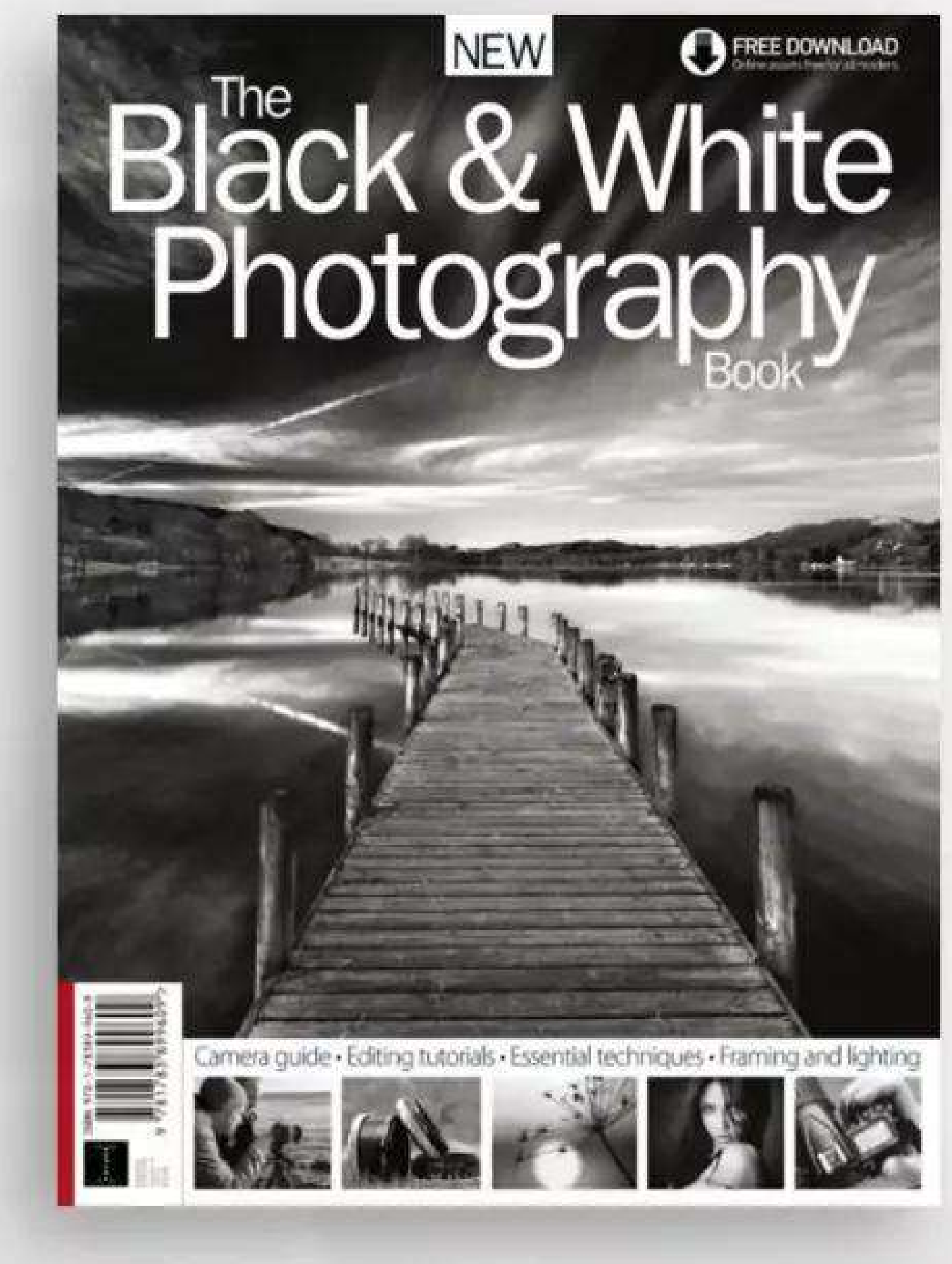
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CROOKED CROMWELL

Does Thomas Cromwell deserve to be condemned to history as a corrupt villain and pawn of a monstrous king?

Written by Jessica Leggett

It's easy to conjure up an image of Thomas Cromwell, one of the most famous figures of the Tudor era, gleefully counting piles of coins at his desk as monasteries burn in the background. One of his enemies, Cardinal Reginald Pole, even described him as "an agent of Satan sent by the devil to lure King Henry to damnation". Yet should Cromwell, whose actions changed the course of English history, be remembered in this way?

Little is known about Cromwell's early years. He was born around 1485 and raised in Putney, the son of a brewer and a gentlewoman. He later moved to Italy, joining the French army as a mercenary during the Italian Wars, before entering the household of Francesco Frescobaldi, a Florentine banker.

In 1515, Cromwell returned to England and married Elizabeth Wyckes, with whom he had three children, Gregory, Anne and Grace. Sadly, Elizabeth and her daughters died in 1529. By 1520, he had his own practice as a legal adviser in London, and three years later he joined the House of Commons as a burgess.

Cromwell's legal skills, time in Italy and experience with land conveyance soon attracted the attention of Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, Lord Chancellor. Wolsey hired Cromwell to manage the negotiations and legal work of his numerous projects, including the building of his new college at Oxford and a grammar school in Ipswich. Thirty small monasteries were controversially dissolved to fund them, with Cromwell selling off the lands and goods. Wolsey was impressed with his efficiency and Cromwell quickly became one of his most senior and trusted advisers.

Although Cromwell worked for a Catholic, he harboured an interest in evangelism and was secretly in touch with dissenters and Protestants during this period, even though it was extremely dangerous. He secretly began promoting the English Reformation before it had even started, going as far as to hire Protestant academics for Wolsey's college. When it was discovered that they were heretics, the academics were either imprisoned or fled, but Cromwell was unscathed.

Illustration by Joe Cummings

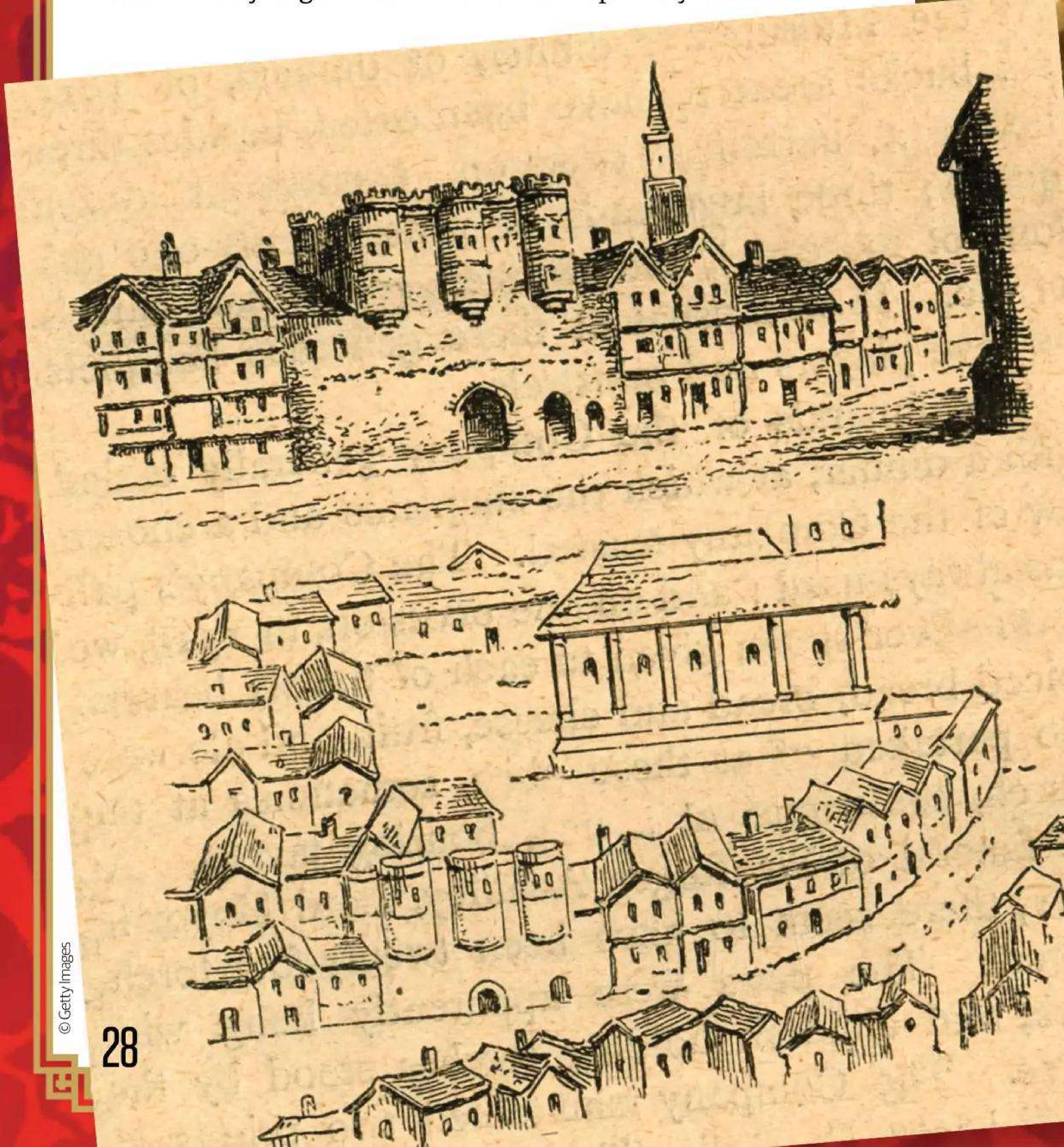
Nevertheless, he was loyal to Wolsey and this continued even after the cardinal's downfall in 1529, sparked by his failure to negotiate King Henry VIII's annulment from his wife, Catherine of Aragon, with Pope Clement VIII. Cromwell feared that, as Wolsey's man, he would fall too. Acting as an intermediary between Wolsey and Henry, Cromwell secured a pardon for his mentor and his considerable skill, legal experience and even his loyalty to Wolsey impressed Henry in the process. By November, Cromwell had secured a place in Parliament and after gaining Henry's favour, he helped him seize the lands belonging to Wolsey's college and grammar school.

Cromwell survived his mentor's downfall, prompting his fellow reformer Stephen Vaughan to write to him in February 1530, stating, "You now sail in a sure haven." As for Wolsey, his pardon from the king was short-lived. He was eventually charged with treason and sent to the Tower of London, although he died during the journey there.

Henry appointed Cromwell to his Privy Council by the end of 1530. He quickly gained more influence in the Commons over the next year, becoming involved with legal and parliamentary matters alongside Thomas Audley, the speaker of the house. Cromwell, with his increasing sway in the Commons, was on the rise as Henry's most important advisor, to the chagrin of those who saw him as nothing more than a low-born commoner.

The most pressing issue was Henry's 'Great Matter': the annulment of his marriage to Catherine so that he could marry Anne Boleyn. To pressurise the pope into giving his consent, Henry opened what would become known as the Reformation Parliament in November 1529, to attack the church and papal authority in England. Cromwell took charge during the third session of Parliament in January 1532 and his Act In Conditional Restraint Of Annates, limiting the taxes that newly appointed senior clergy in England could pay to Rome, was passed.

Still, the pope would not relent and Cromwell decided that royal supremacy needed establishing over the church. This would enable Henry to get the annulment he desperately wanted and it was Cromwell's responsibility to make sure the king got his way. It was also an opportunity for Cromwell to end papal authority for good and pave the way for evangelical reform in England.



© Getty Images

> "For the nobility, it was an insult that Cromwell, the son of a brewer, was the king's right-hand man"

Cromwell started by reminding the Commons of the various anti-clerical complaints that had been made during the session of 1529, successfully reigniting their anger. On 18 March, the Commons presented Henry with their 'Supplication against the Ordinaries', a petition against clerical abuses, in which they asked him to deal with these issues and referred to him as "the only head, sovereign lord, protector and defender". Two months later, the submission of the clergy began as the church surrendered its right to create ecclesiastical laws without the king's permission.

Parliament was subsequently prorogued and Sir Thomas More, who had succeeded Wolsey as lord chancellor in 1529, resigned

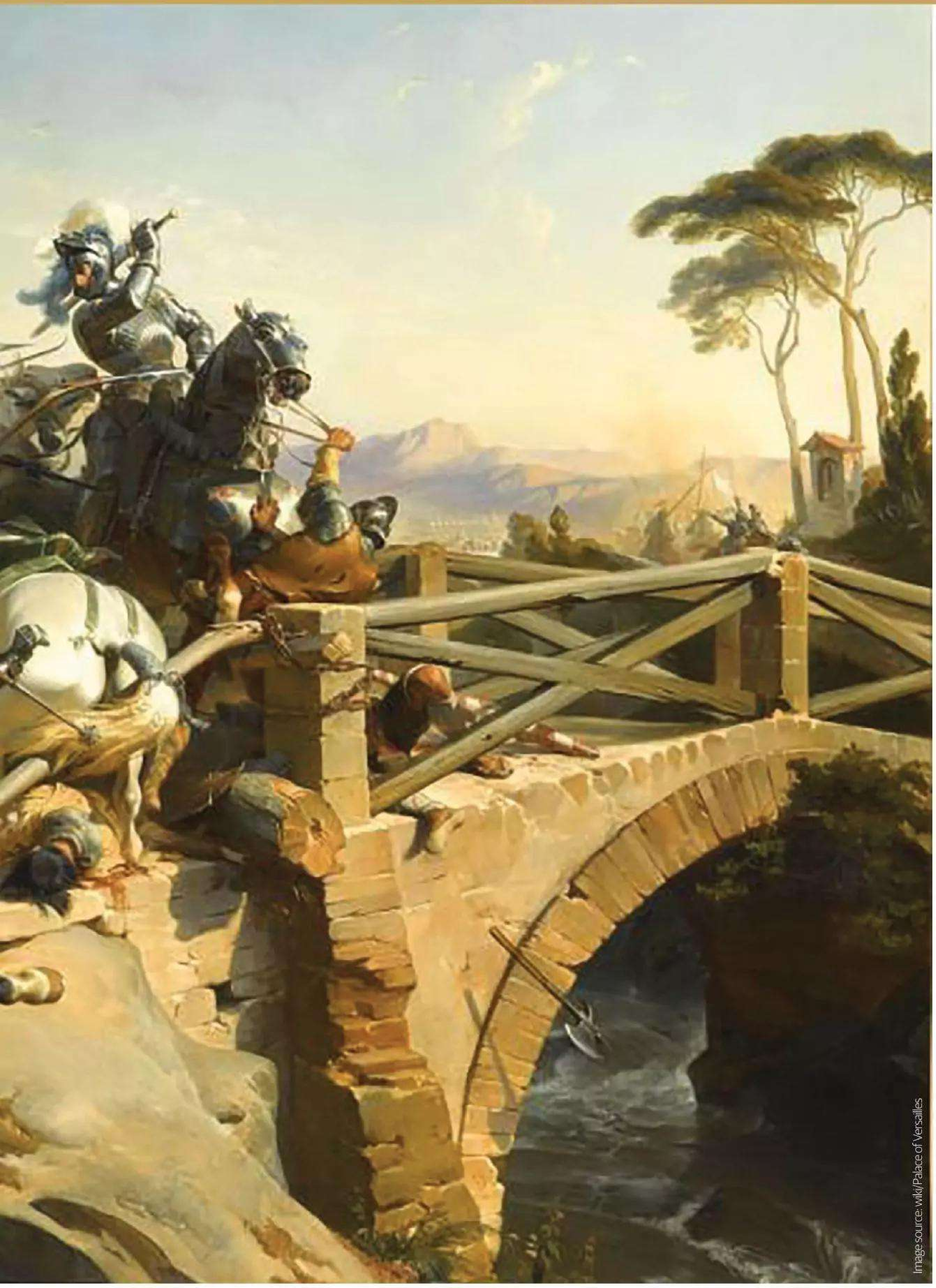


Image source: wiki/Palace of Versailles

from his post. As a devout Catholic, More opposed the submission, Henry's quest for an annulment and his desire to break from Rome. His resignation signalled a victory for reformists and left his rival, Cromwell, as the king's chief minister in all but name.

As Cromwell's power grew, Henry appointed him to his first formal office as master of the jewels in April 1532 and, a year later, as chancellor of the exchequer. It was the beginning of a long line of promotions that Cromwell would receive, all of which steadily increased his wealth, influence and power at court.

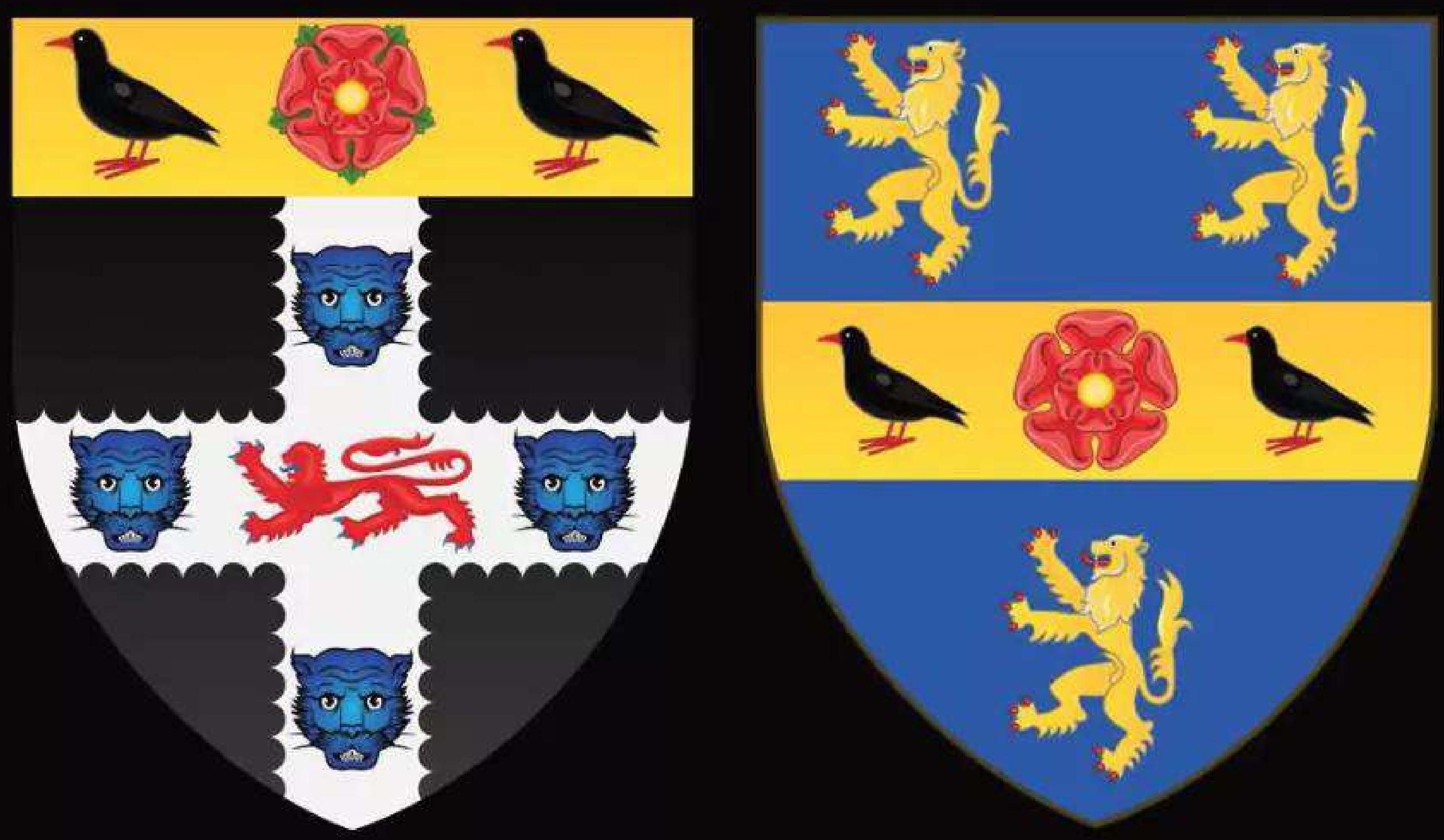
In January 1533, Henry and Anne secretly married and as the bride was pregnant, their union needed legitimising urgently. To this end, Thomas Cranmer, a chaplain to the Boleyns, was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury in March with the pope's approval. A like-minded ally of Cromwell's, they would become the masterminds behind the start of the English Reformation.

Three months after the clandestine wedding, Parliament passed the Act Of Restraint Of Appeals, written by Cromwell. Forbidding all appeals to the pope and asserting that the king held the highest authority on all religious and legal matters, it signified the beginning of the transfer of power from the papacy to the king.

Cranmer now had the power to grant Henry's annulment from Catherine on 23 May, following an ecclesiastical hearing. Five days later, Cranmer declared Henry's marriage to Anne was legal and on 1 June she was crowned queen. In September, to Henry's bitter ▶

ABOVE In his youth, Cromwell was a mercenary in the French army during the Italian Wars

LEFT A drawing of Cromwell's lavish house (centre) based on a 16th-century map of London



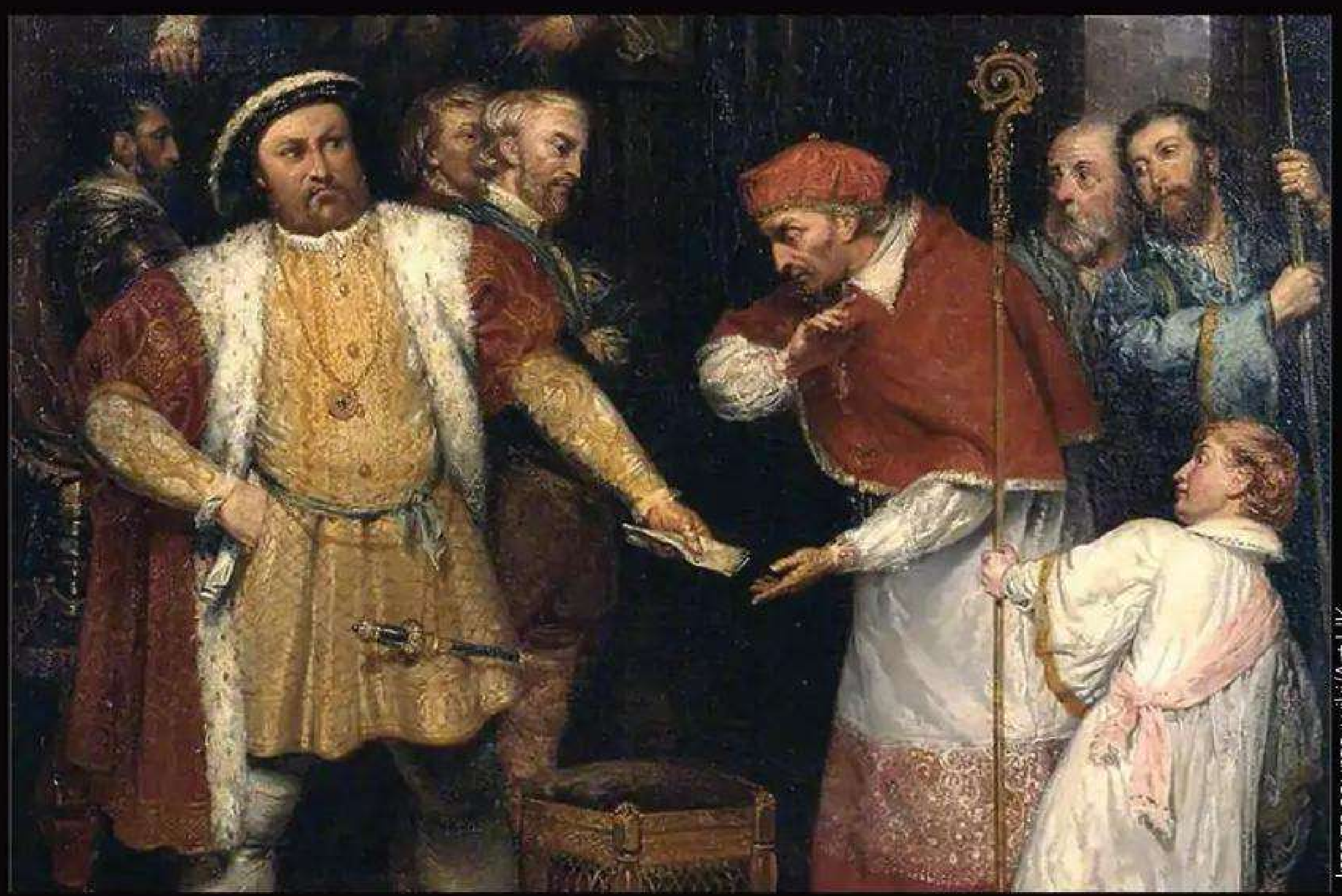
A SIGN OF LOYALTY

Comparing Cardinal Thomas Wolsey's and Thomas Cromwell's coat of arms

If you take a look at the coat of arms belonging to Cardinal Thomas Wolsey (left) and Thomas Cromwell (right), the first thing you will notice is the similarities between the two. Cromwell designed and formally registered his coat of arms in 1532, two years after his mentor's downfall and death. However, he incorporated motifs from the chief (the band at the top) of Cardinal Wolsey's arms – the two birds (Cornish choughs) and a rose to represent the House of Tudor.

Of course, this was no coincidence. Understanding heraldry during this period was extremely important because every motif and theme had a message, a certain meaning, just like the symbolism found in royal portraiture. By taking aspects of Wolsey's arms and adding them into his own, Cromwell was permanently connecting himself to the cardinal. So why would he do something so risky when Wolsey had fallen so spectacularly from grace?

Firstly, it was a sign of Cromwell's loyalty to the cardinal, the man who'd introduced him to the royal court, setting him on his eventual rise to power under King Henry. Secondly, it was a way to demonstrate to the court that he was, and always would be, Cardinal Wolsey's man. It was a bold move, especially as Wolsey's enemies, particularly Anne Boleyn and her family, including Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk, were reaching the peak of their power at court. Ironically the duke would be a primary force in securing Cromwell's downfall in 1540, as he had been in Wolsey's a decade earlier.



Henry VIII charged Wolsey with treason and sent him to the Tower

Image source: wiki/Art UK
Coat of arms source: wiki/FDRMRZUSA and Rs-nourse

disappointment, Anne gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth, but he remained hopeful that a boy would be next.

After the divorce, the pope 'pronounced sentence against the king, declaring him excommunicated unless he put away the woman he had taken to wife, and took back his Queen...' Furious, Henry refused the pope's demands, wanting to push ahead with breaking England's ties with Rome. With his permission, Cromwell launched a savage smear campaign, circulating sermons and pamphlets throughout the country that attacked the papacy.

Parliament was summoned again in January 1534, under Cromwell's watchful eye, to sever England's remaining ties with Rome. The Act of Succession was passed, placing Elizabeth as heir presumptive and ensuring that any future children of Henry and Anne's were also in the line of succession, while declaring Catherine's daughter Mary as illegitimate. It also stated that if commanded, all subjects had to swear an oath recognising the Act and the preamble, which affirmed royal supremacy and renounced papal authority.

As a reward, Cromwell was appointed as the king's principal secretary and chief minister in April, positions he had informally held for some time. He immediately enforced the new legislation, requiring both houses of Parliament to swear to the succession oath, before turning his attention to Henry's subjects - it was a surefire way to find those who dissented.

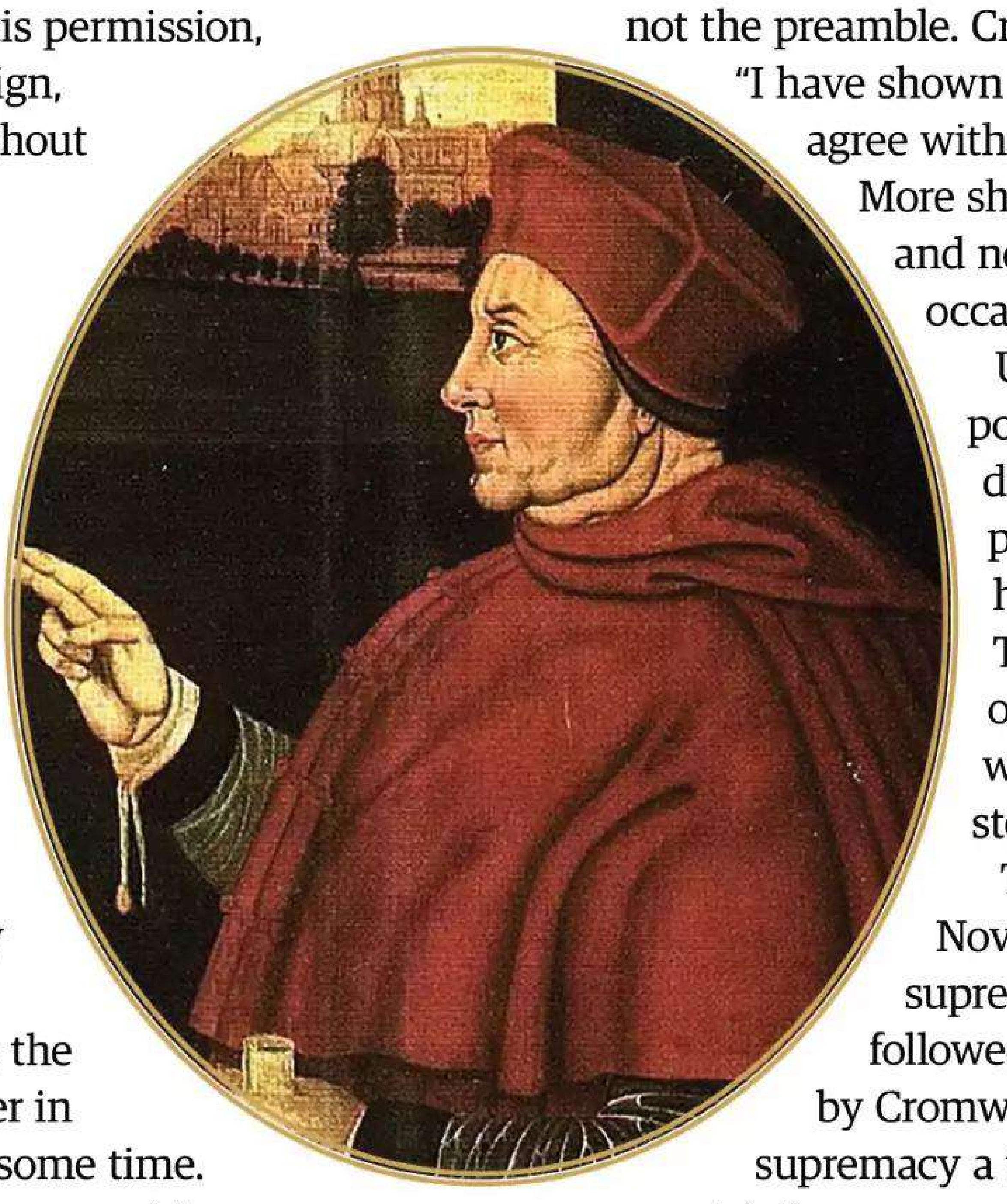
This included More, who was summoned to Lambeth Palace on 13 April to swear the oath in front of Cromwell, Cranmer and the rest of the king's commissioners. While he accepted Anne as Henry's wife and the new line of succession, he refused to swear the oath, which recognised royal supremacy. Along with John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who also refused, More was arrested and thrown into the Tower of London.

Cranmer, trying to find a peaceful solution, wrote to Cromwell, suggesting that More and Fisher could swear just to the Act and not the preamble. Cromwell responded by saying that: "I have shown your letters to the king, who does not agree with you that the bp. of Rochester and Mr More should be sworn to the Act of Succession and not to the preamble, as it would give occasion to all men to refuse the whole..."

Undoubtedly, Cromwell was a ruthless politician but it has been argued that he did not revel in cruelty as some have previously claimed. Over the next year, he made repeated visits to More in the Tower to convince him to swear to the oath, knowing that if he did not, More was heading to certain death. But More steadfastly refused.

The Act Of Supremacy was passed that November, formally declaring Henry as supreme head of the Church of England, followed by the Treason Act - introduced by Cromwell - which made rejecting royal supremacy a treasonous crime. After initially restricting payments to Rome in 1532, Parliament passed the Act In Absolute Restraint Of Annates, which abolished them entirely and directed these taxes to be paid to the crown, as Cromwell wanted - after all, England was in debt thanks to Henry's costly foreign wars and decadent lifestyle.

More was put on trial for his continued refusal to swear to the oath. He knew that he could only be found guilty if he



RIGHT Cromwell worked for Cardinal Thomas Wolsey, who is depicted here

Image source: wiki/Christ Church, University of Oxford

THE DOWNFALL OF A QUEEN

There was no love lost between Cromwell and Anne Boleyn

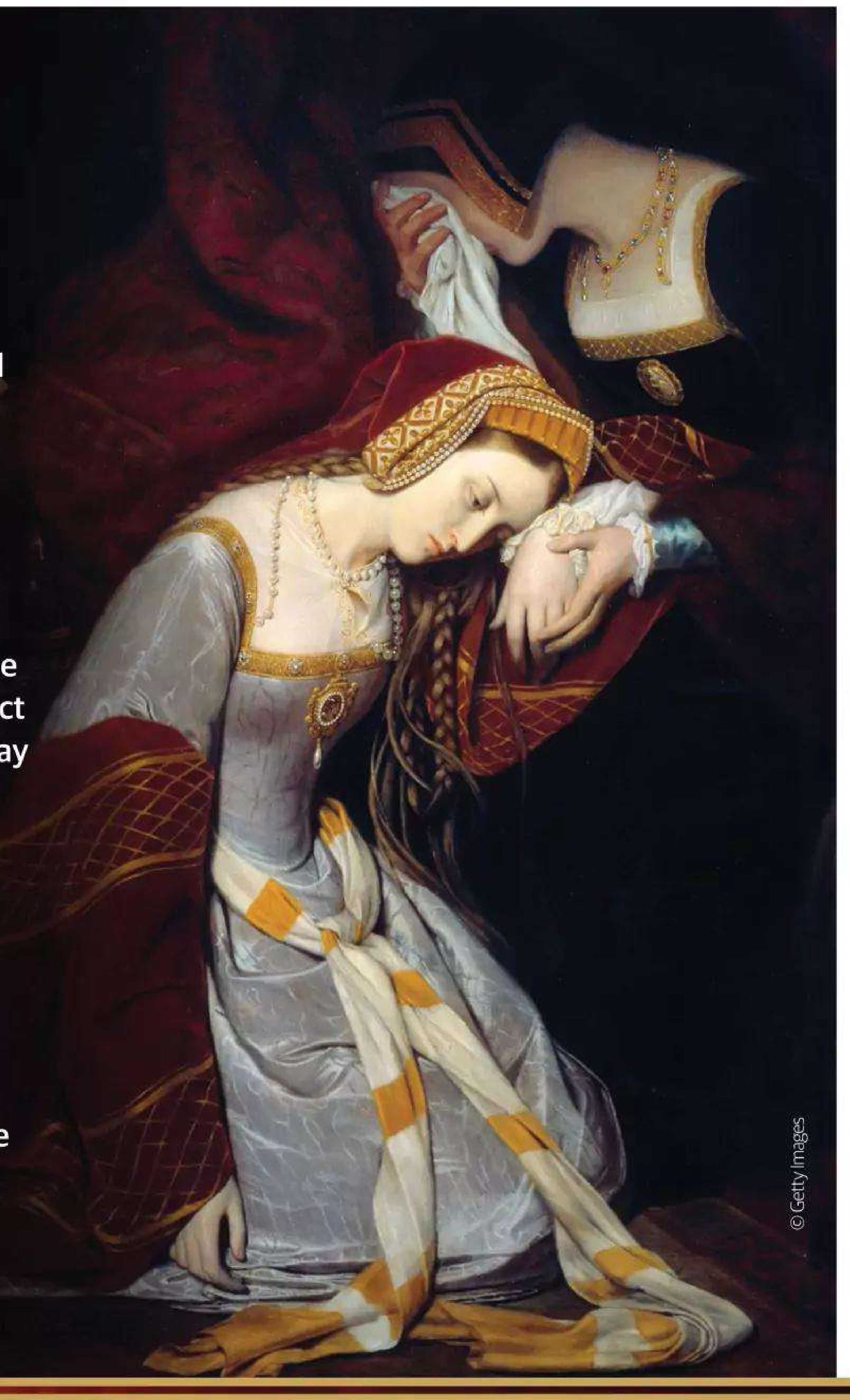
From the time they were alive to the present day, there has been a persistent belief that Cromwell and Anne Boleyn, with their similar religious beliefs and desire for reform, were allies at the Tudor court. When Anne's failure to give Henry a son sealed her fate, Cromwell turned his back on her and secured her execution. However, the truth is Cromwell and Anne were enemies from the very beginning.

Anne had hated Cardinal Wolsey, who had failed to get an annulment for Henry and Catherine of Aragon's marriage, and she did everything she could to turn the king against him. Even though it was Cromwell who worked to secure royal supremacy over the church, thereby giving Archbishop Thomas Cranmer the power to finally end the marriage, Anne continued to see him as Wolsey's man.

The pair clashed frequently, particularly over how the wealth collected from the suppression of the smaller monasteries should be used. While Cromwell sent it to the king's treasury, Anne wanted the money spent on educational and charitable causes such as poor relief. When Anne miscarried in January 1536, Cromwell began to engineer her downfall, although it is likely that Henry privately authorised him to do so.

Anne was subsequently accused of adultery with five men, including her own brother, George as well as sorcery. It was Cromwell who gathered evidence for the case and it was rumoured that he tortured one of the men, Mark Smeaton, to extract a confession. When Anne was beheaded on 19 May at the Tower of London, Cromwell was there to witness the execution.

By the time of Anne's death, Cromwell was at the peak of his power at Henry's court. The fact that he was appointed lord privy seal and raised to the peerage as Baron Cromwell of Wimbledon less than two months later suggests that Anne prevented the progress of his career while she was queen. Of course, Cromwell could never have guessed that, just four years later, he would be following her to the scaffold.



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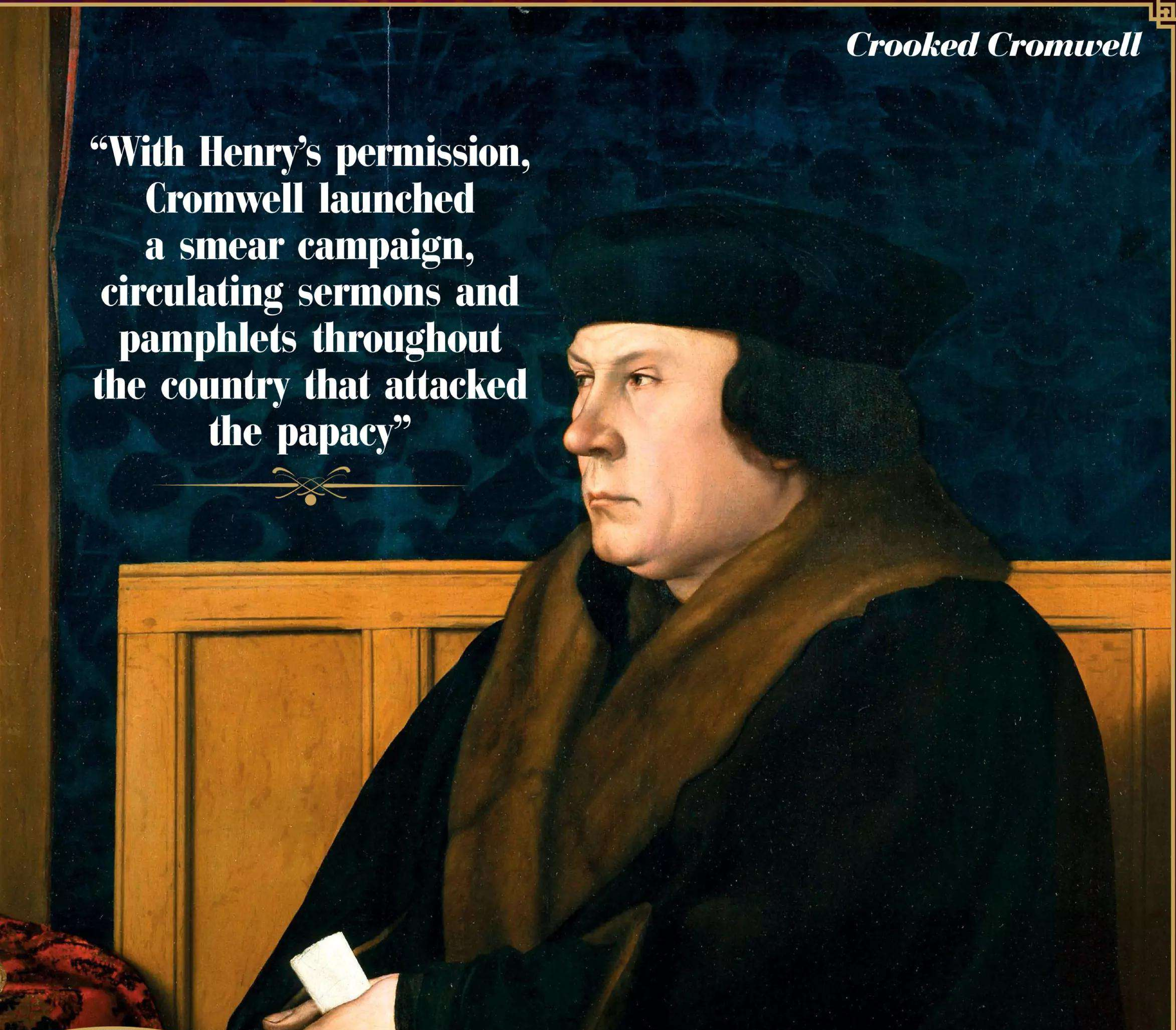
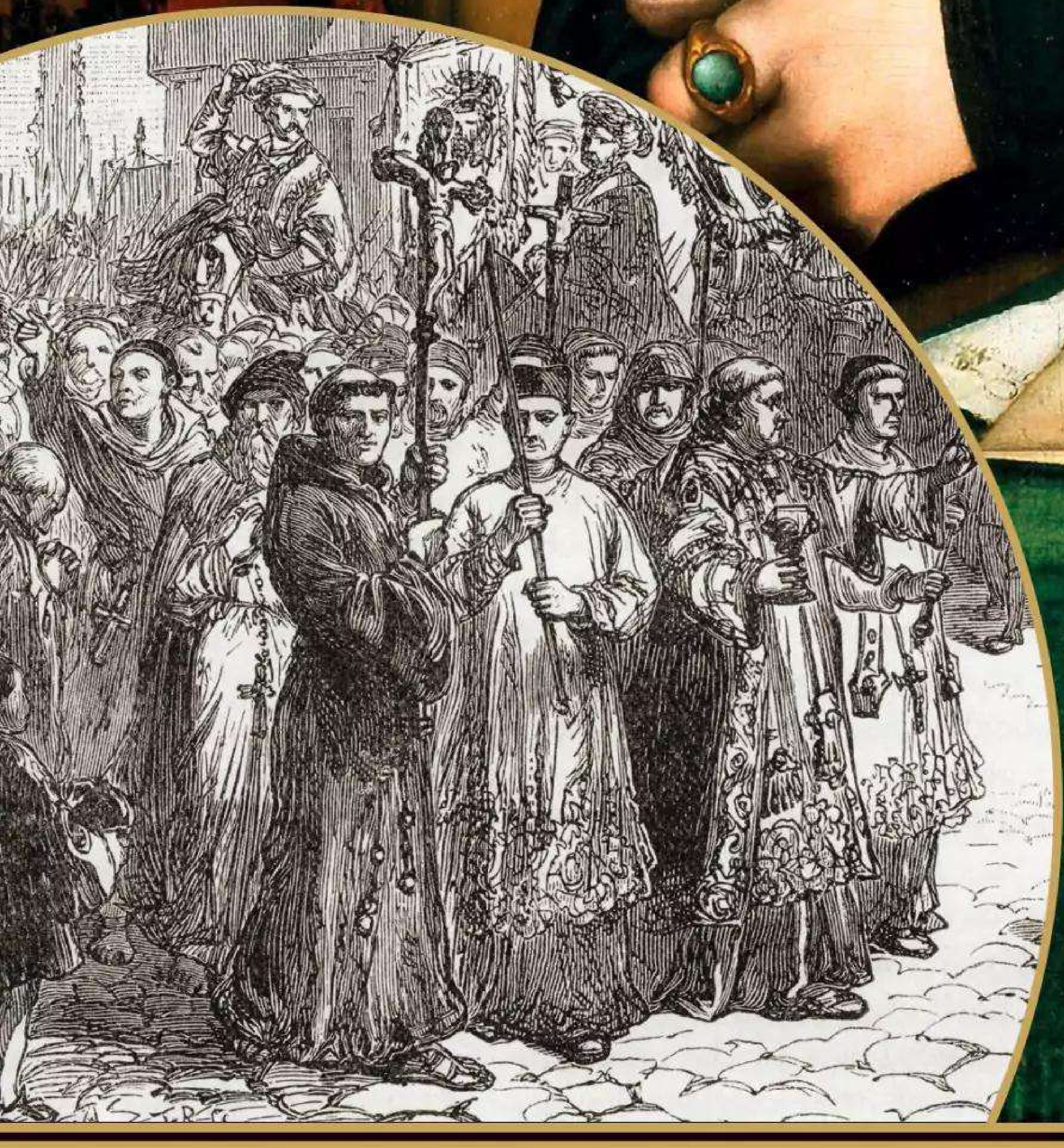
> “With Henry’s permission, Cromwell launched a smear campaign, circulating sermons and pamphlets throughout the country that attacked the papacy”





LEFT-INSET The Pilgrimage of Grace opposed Cromwell's policies

ABOVE Hans Holbein the Younger's portrait of Cromwell, c.1532

2x © Getty Images

denied royal supremacy and so maintained his silence. However, Cromwell was in charge of the trial and he knew that Henry wanted a guilty conviction – More's silence, although not an outward condemnation of the king's actions, was deafening.

Cromwell's agent, Richard Rich, the solicitor general, gave evidence that during a friendly conversation with More the latter had admitted his disapproval of both the oath and the Act. The confession was pure perjury but it was all Cromwell needed to find More guilty under the Treason Act. More was executed on 6 July 1535 at Tower Hill, less than two months after Fisher.

Cromwell's rise continued when he was named vicegerent in spirituals, the only man in history to receive this office, in January 1535. Now he was Henry's deputy in the church, giving him the ability to both exercise power and to enact serious religious reform. Cromwell was in a position to lay the foundations for the Reformation but he had to be pragmatic – Henry relied on him because he got the job done. The king did not envision the same radical changes as Cromwell and with his temper he could easily turn against him.

Following the authorisation of Henry and Parliament, Cromwell sent out his inspectors to visit monasteries across the realm to assess their income and possessions. The findings were compiled into a comprehensive catalogue known as the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* of 1535, which showed that the monasteries were only providing a small financial contribution to their communities despite their enormous wealth.

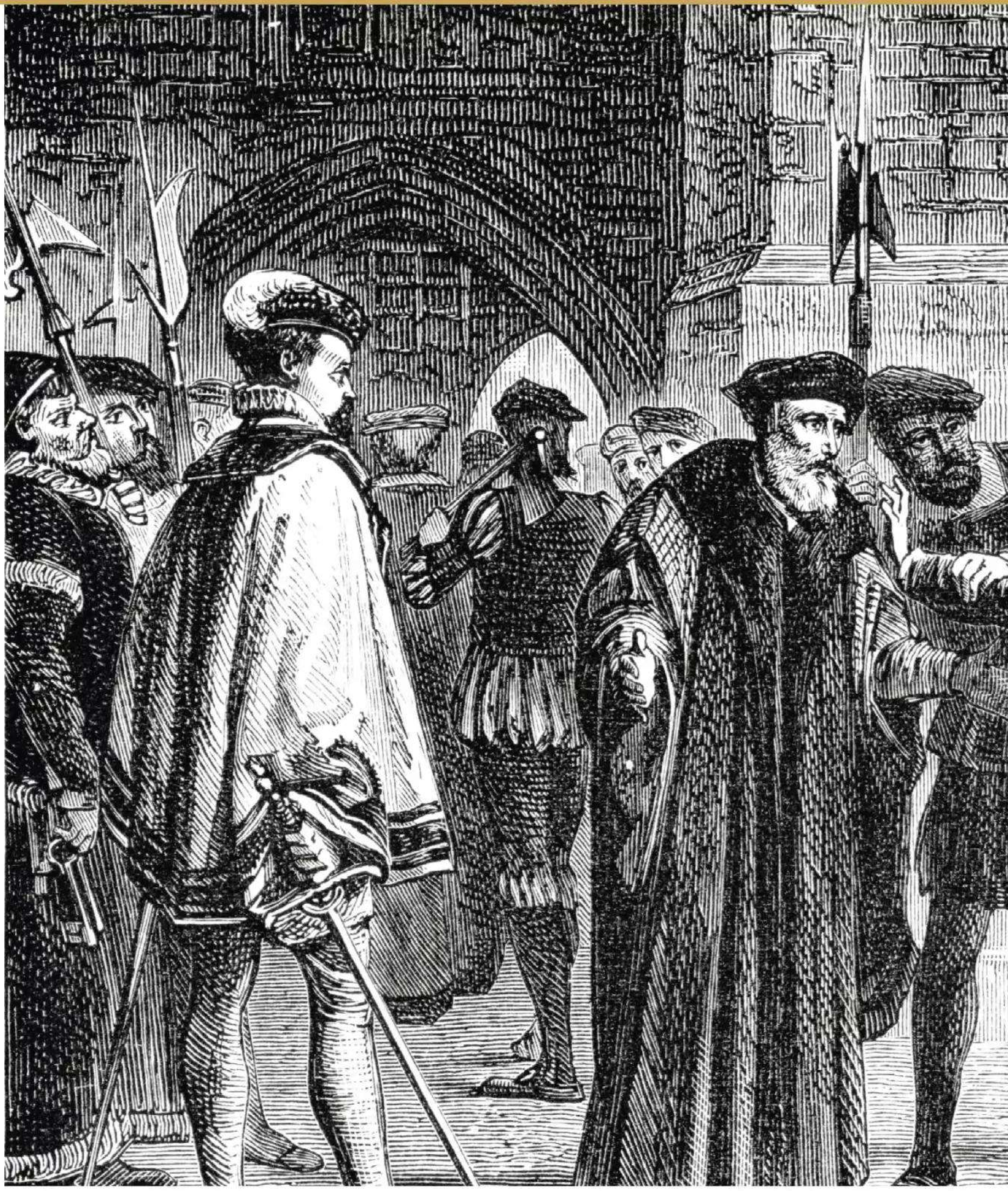
During their visits, Cromwell's men uncovered corruption, immorality and sexual scandal among the clergy. This was likely exaggerated in many cases but there was truth to some of the allegations, which were gathered together in the *Comperta Monastica*. For Cromwell and Henry, this document and the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* were proof that the monasteries (which continued to support the papacy) had gone morally and financially astray, and as supreme head of the church it was up to the king to deal with it.

"Cromwell was in a position to lay the foundations for the Reformation, but he had to be pragmatic…"

The Suppression Of Religious Houses Act in early 1536 allowed Henry to dissolve small monasteries and nunneries with an income of less than £200. Cromwell, having experienced a backlash when he'd dissolved monasteries under Wolsey, argued that the process should happen gradually. However, he was overruled by those, including Audley (who had succeeded More as lord chancellor) who wanted a swift dissolution. Nevertheless, Cromwell was the one to oversee and organise the process.

In the meantime, Queen Anne had failed to provide Henry with the male heir he so desperately wanted. After she suffered a miscarriage in January, it is believed that Henry whispered to Cromwell that he wanted her gone so that he could marry his next love interest, Jane Seymour. Anne was convicted of trumped-up charges of incest, adultery and high treason and executed on 19 May 1536. Henry married Jane just 11 days later.

After the break from Rome, the religious doctrine of the Church of England needed to be decided. Parliament passed the Ten Articles, a balance between Catholicism and Protestantism, which formed the official position of the church. Cromwell and Cranmer were involved in the drafting of the Articles that only kept three



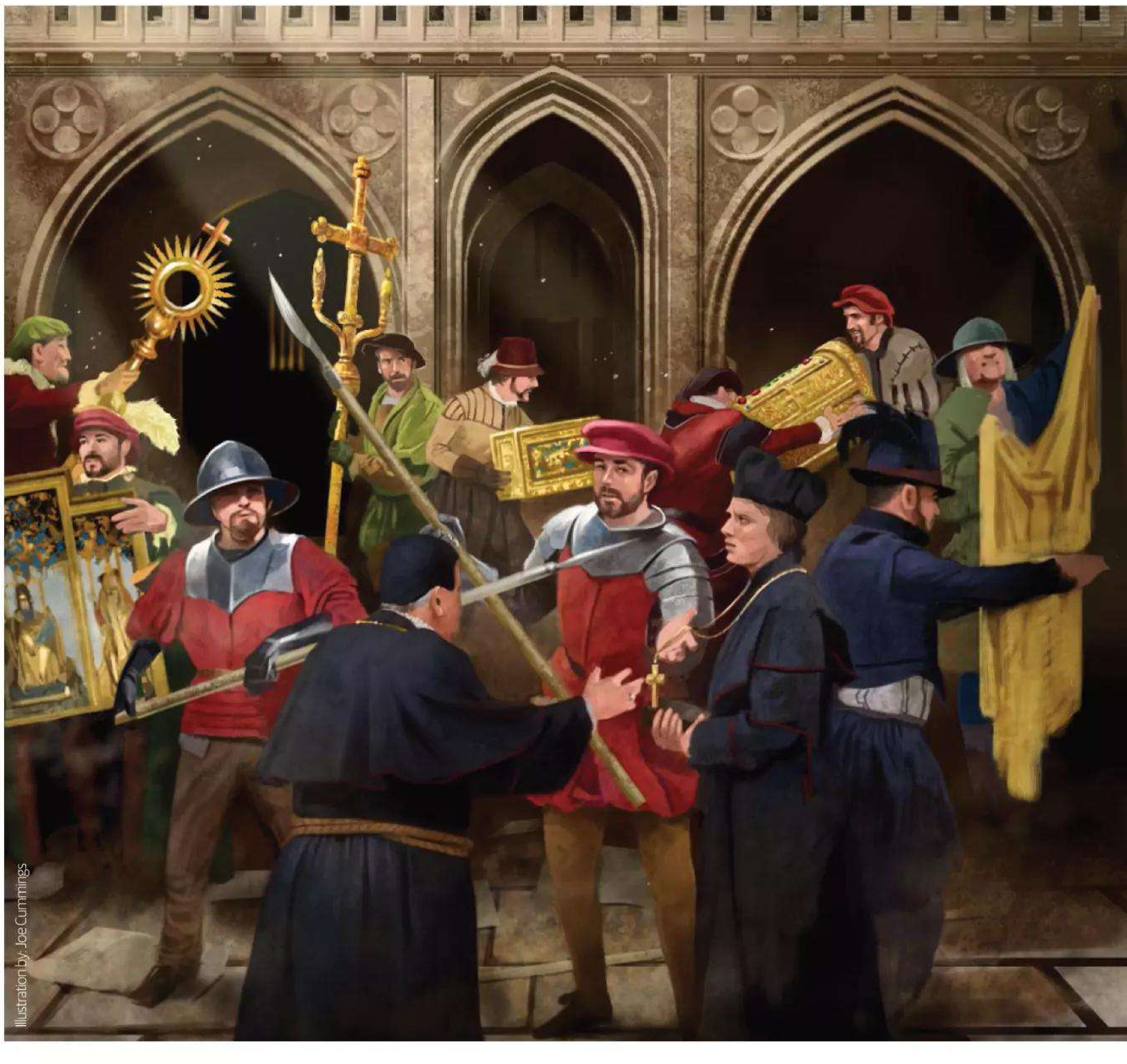
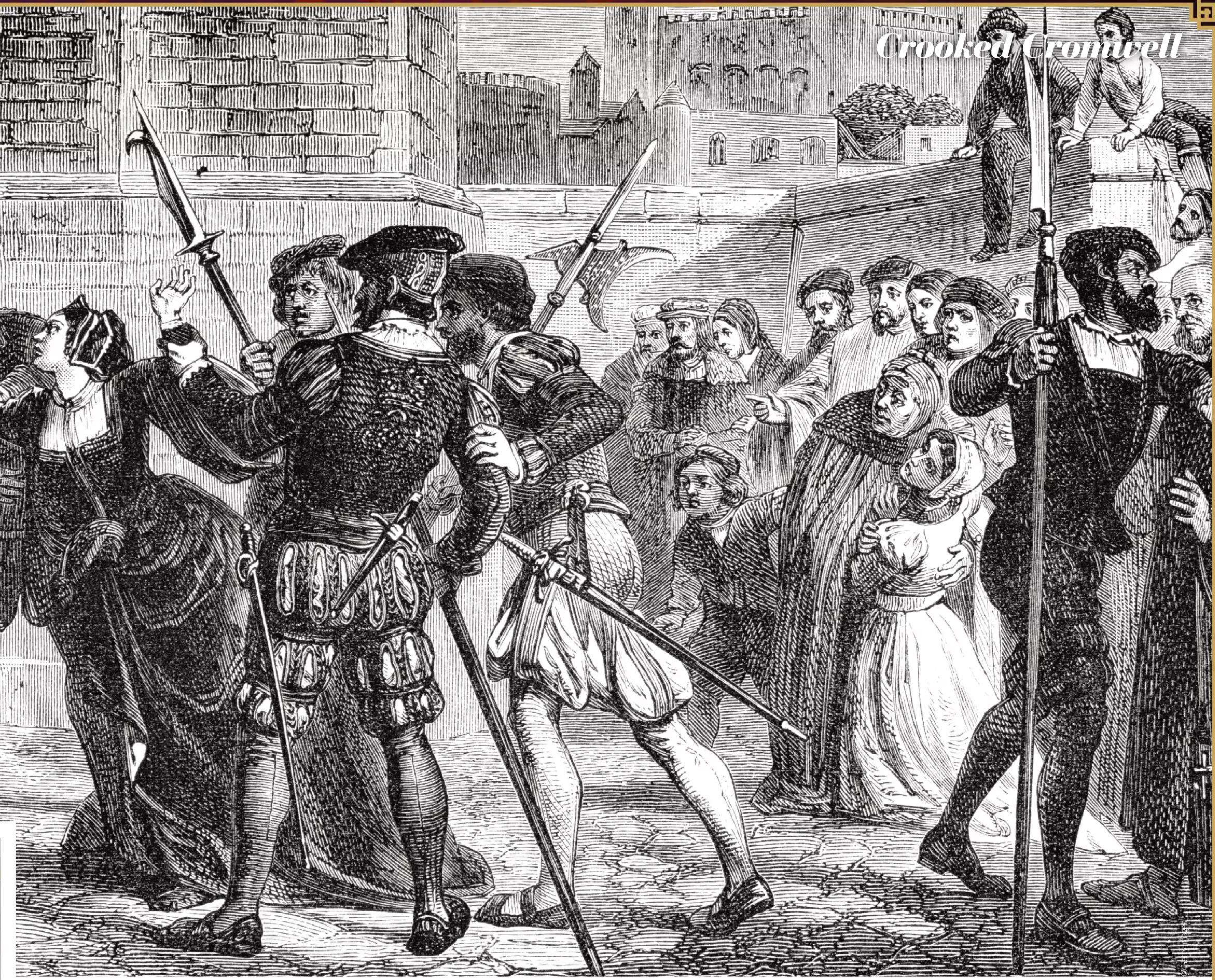


Illustration by: Joe Cummings



ABOVE Sir Thomas More says goodbye to his daughter outside the Tower of London

LEFT Cromwell was the driving force behind the Dissolution of the Monasteries

of the seven sacraments of the Catholic church: baptism, penance and the Eucharist.

The Ten Articles were controversial and Cromwell found himself in hot water after introducing his injunctions, which enforced the reforms and included recommendations for what the clergy should teach their congregations. With growing concern over religious reform, the dissolution, Mary's illegitimacy and economic and political factors, this was the final straw and by October a revolt – the Pilgrimage Of Grace – broke out.

The rebellion was eventually quelled in December and despite the threat, Cromwell was not dissuaded from his desire for further religious reform. In 1537, he organised a synod of bishops and clergy, led by Cranmer, which published *The Bishops' Book* to support the ongoing reforms, although the missing four of the seven sacraments were restored. However, Henry was growing uneasy about the reforms and he did not assent to the *Book* immediately, later revising large parts of it. Having said this, Henry still appointed Cromwell to the Order Of The Garter.

Among Cromwell's biggest achievements was his injunction in 1538 requiring parishes to register all baptisms, marriages and burials. In 1539 he published the *Great Bible*, the first *Bible* in English, with Henry's permission, and made it mandatory to have one in every church – this remains a large part of his legacy today.

Nonetheless, Henry was not opening up to more reform. He remained committed to Catholic practices and conservatism was back on the rise, led by the duke of Norfolk. The Act Of Six Articles was introduced in June, reaffirming traditional Catholic teachings. For Cromwell, this was a kick in the teeth and it left him vulnerable.

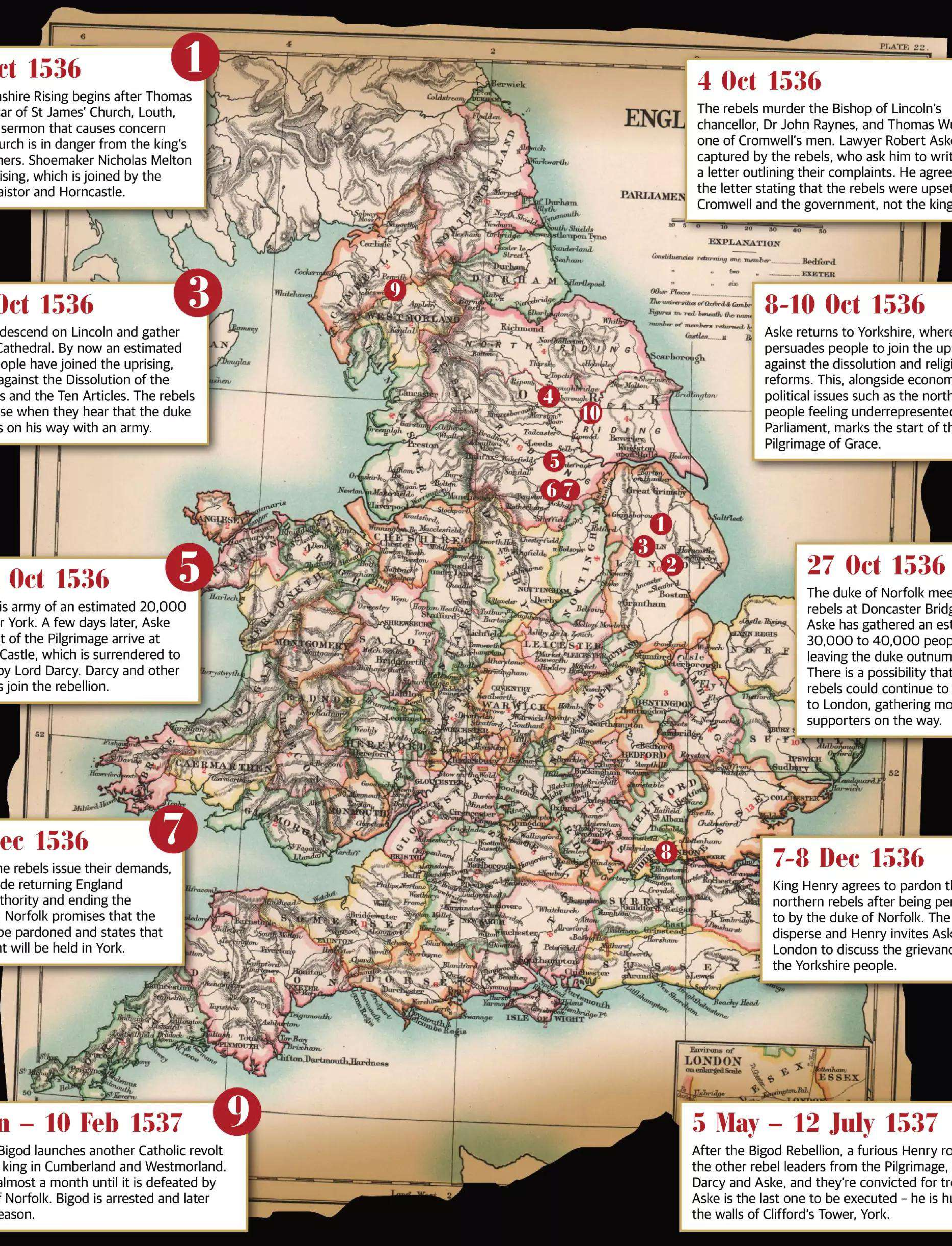
Despite his uneasiness at Cromwell's reforms, Henry wanted him to push forward with the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the Second Suppression Act was passed by Parliament in 1539. All surviving monasteries, of all sizes and income, were to be closed and those who attempted to resist were executed and their monasteries destroyed. Realising that there was no other option, most of them surrendered their property to the crown. The monastic land and buildings were sold off to families who supported Henry and his supremacy, further securing their loyalty. It is believed that the dissolution added around £1.5 million to the king's treasury.

Unfortunately for Cromwell, Henry's faith in him had been shaken ever since the Pilgrimage Of Grace. This was noticed by Cromwell's enemies at court, who had enviously watched his dramatic rise. For the nobility, it was an insult that Cromwell, the son of a brewer, was the king's right-hand man. He continued to ruffle feathers when, in 1537, he arranged for his beloved

▶

THE PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE

How did the greatest domestic threat to the Tudor dynasty unfold?



1-3 Oct 1536

1

The Lincolnshire Rising begins after Thomas Kendall, vicar of St James' Church, Louth, preaches a sermon that causes concern that the church is in danger from the king's commissioners. Shoemaker Nicholas Melton leads the Rising, which is joined by the towns of Caistor and Horncastle.

4 Oct 1536

2

The rebels murder the Bishop of Lincoln's chancellor, Dr John Raynes, and Thomas Wulcley, one of Cromwell's men. Lawyer Robert Aske is captured by the rebels, who ask him to write a letter outlining their complaints. He agrees, with the letter stating that the rebels were upset with Cromwell and the government, not the king.

6-11 Oct 1536

3

The rebels descend on Lincoln and gather at Lincoln Cathedral. By now an estimated 40,000 people have joined the uprising, protesting against the Dissolution of the Monasteries and the Ten Articles. The rebels later disperse when they hear that the duke of Suffolk is on his way with an army.

8-10 Oct 1536

4

Aske returns to Yorkshire, where he persuades people to join the uprising against the dissolution and religious reforms. This, alongside economic and political issues such as the northern people feeling underrepresented in Parliament, marks the start of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

16-21 Oct 1536

5

Aske and his army of an estimated 20,000 rebels enter York. A few days later, Aske and the rest of the Pilgrimage arrive at Pontefract Castle, which is surrendered to the rebels by Lord Darcy. Darcy and other local nobles join the rebellion.

27 Oct 1536

6

The duke of Norfolk meets the rebels at Doncaster Bridge, where Aske has gathered an estimated 30,000 to 40,000 people, leaving the duke outnumbered. There is a possibility that the rebels could continue to march to London, gathering more supporters on the way.

2-6 Dec 1536

7

Aske and the rebels issue their demands, which include returning England to papal authority and ending the dissolution. Norfolk promises that the rebels will be pardoned and states that a Parliament will be held in York.

7-8 Dec 1536

8

King Henry agrees to pardon the northern rebels after being persuaded to by the duke of Norfolk. The rebels disperse and Henry invites Aske to London to discuss the grievances of the Yorkshire people.

16 Jan – 10 Feb 1537

9

Sir Francis Bigod launches another Catholic revolt against the king in Cumberland and Westmorland. It lasts for almost a month until it is defeated by the duke of Norfolk. Bigod is arrested and later hung for treason.

5 May – 12 July 1537

10

After the Bigod Rebellion, a furious Henry rounds up the other rebel leaders from the Pilgrimage, including Darcy and Aske, and they're convicted for treason. Aske is the last one to be executed – he is hung from the walls of Clifford's Tower, York.

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BELOW The title page of the first edition of the *Great Bible*, 1539
© Getty Images

RIGHT Many at court hated Cromwell for his position as the king's right-hand man
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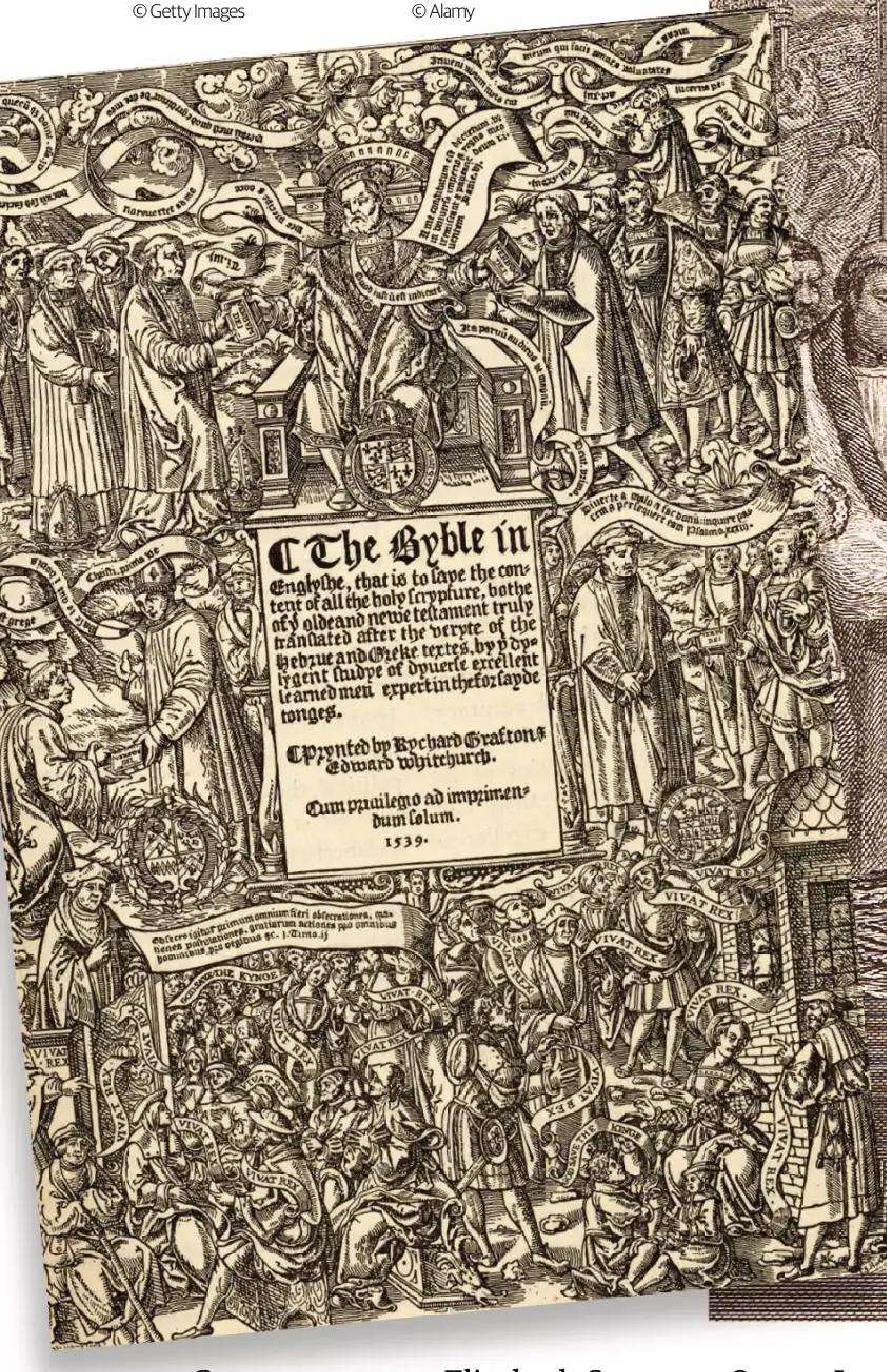

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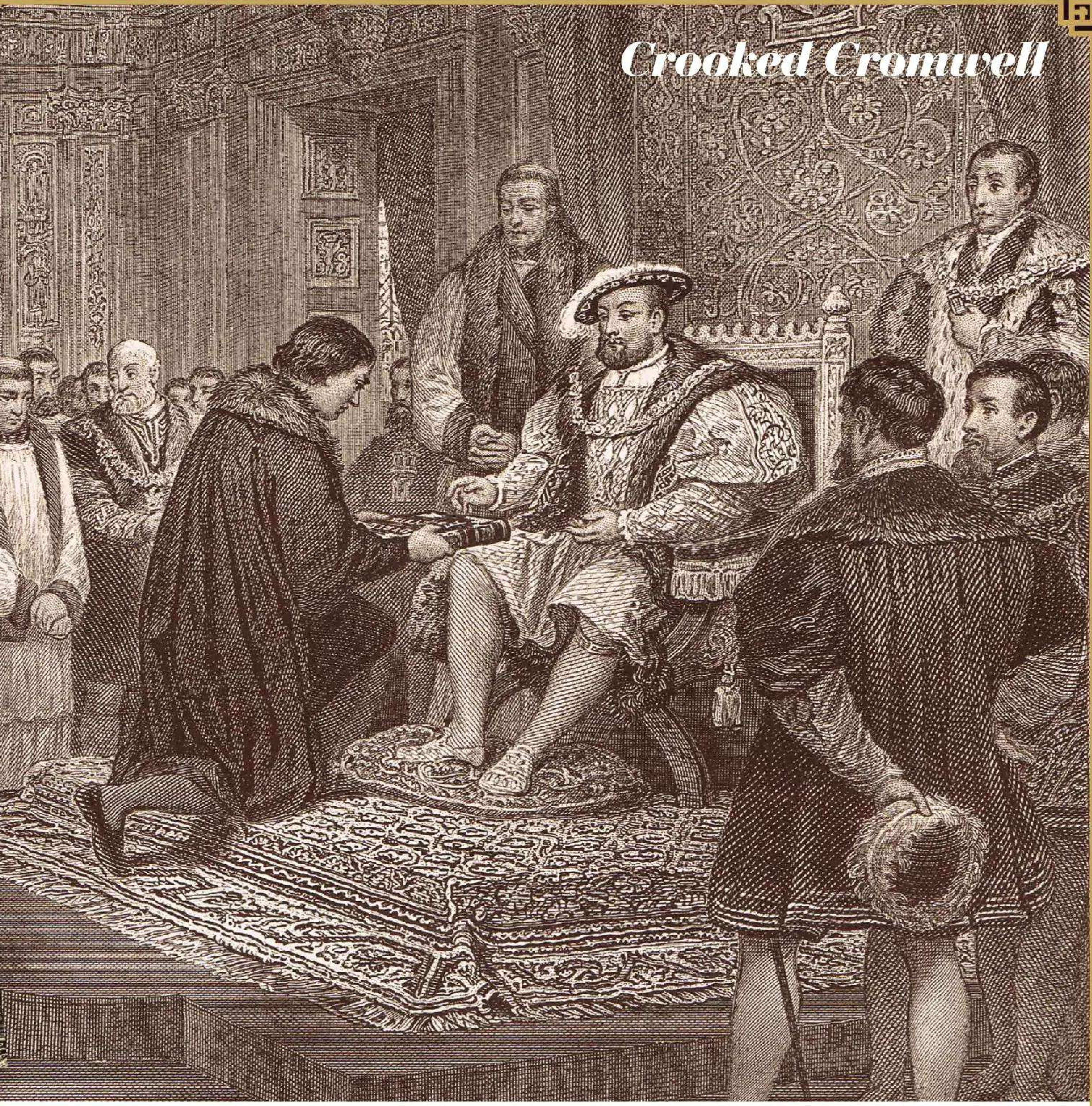


son Gregory to marry Elizabeth Seymour, Queen Jane's sister, effectively making him a member of the king's family. Cromwell had risen above his station and his adversaries were waiting to take him down.

Less than two weeks after giving birth to Henry's longed-for son, Edward, Jane died in October 1537. The king was grief-stricken but the hunt was already on for his fourth wife. Cromwell wanted to avoid another English bride as this would inevitably continue friction at court. Instead, he hoped to forge an anti-Catholic alliance and bring England closer to Protestants in Europe. He settled on a German princess, Anne of Cleves, who seemed like an ideal candidate, especially as England was threatened by an alliance between Spain and France.

Cromwell pressed the matter to Henry, who famously agreed to the marriage after seeing a portrait of Anne painted by Hans Holbein the Younger. Negotiations were settled and for Cromwell, he would be back in Henry's good graces. However, his initial success crumbled when the king met his new bride-to-be in December 1539. Instantly disgusted, Henry shouted "I like her not! I like her not" at Cromwell and demanded that he get him out of the upcoming marriage.

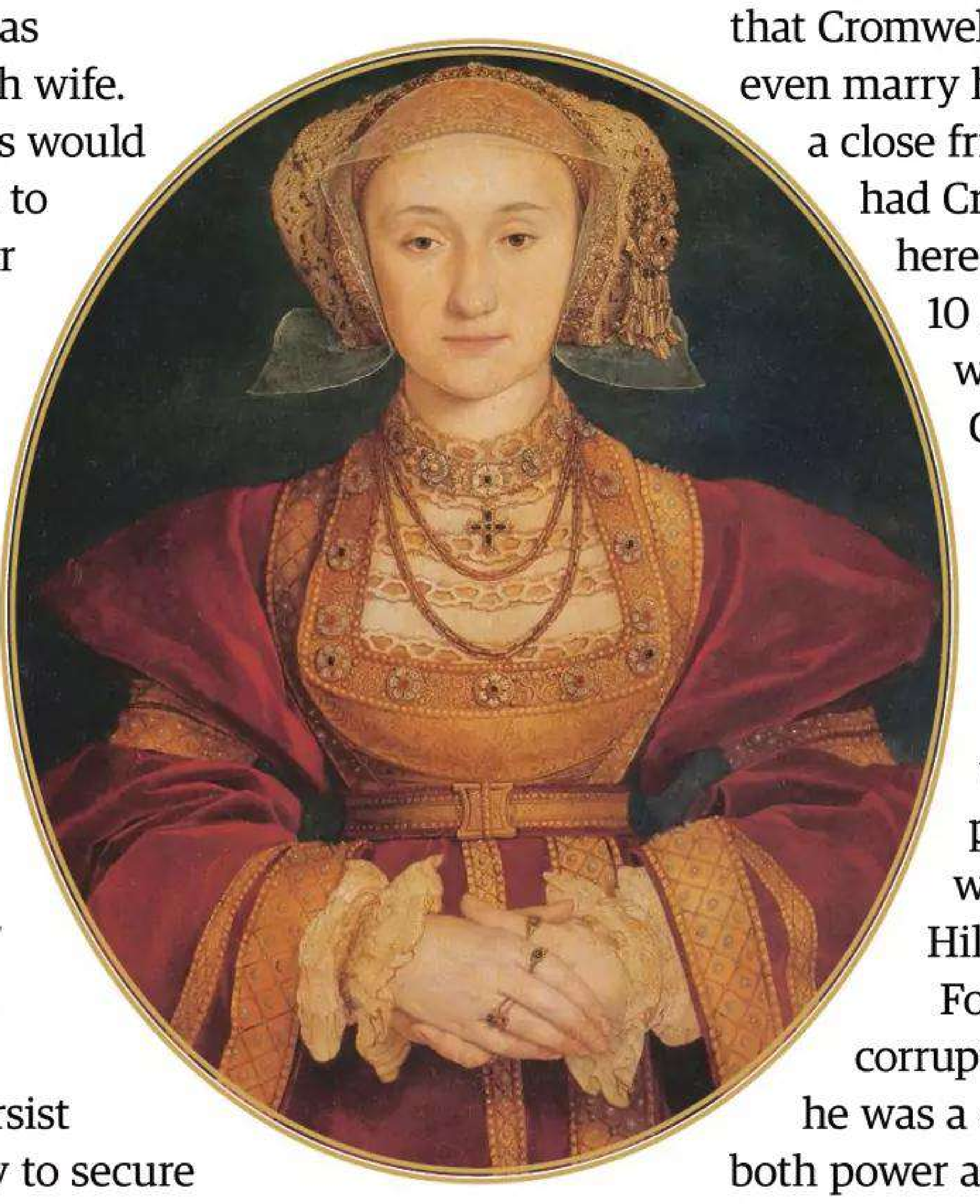
Unfortunately for Henry, he had no choice but to persist with the marriage on 6 January 1540 and the only way to secure an annulment was to claim that he was unable to consummate the marriage due to impotency. It was an utter humiliation for the king and, unsurprisingly, his fury was directed at the man who had organised the marriage in the first place – Cromwell.

Even though he had angered Henry, Cromwell retained his position and in April he was made the earl of Essex, to the bitter disappointment of his enemies. Nonetheless, Henry had not forgotten what had happened and now Cromwell's enemies, notably the duke of Norfolk and Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, took the opportunity to strike.

They began a whispering campaign against him, claiming that Cromwell was a heretic plotting to rebel against Henry and even marry his daughter, Lady Mary, with whom Cromwell had a close friendship. Henry, by now gripped with paranoia, had Cromwell arrested on the grounds of treason and heresy. Arriving at a meeting of the Privy Council on 10 June 1540 Cromwell was seized by the king's guards, with the duke gleefully tearing off the Order Of The Garter himself.

Cromwell was thrown into the Tower but he was not given the chance to stand trial, as a bill of attainder was passed and condemned him to death. He wrote numerous letters to Henry in the hope that he would be pardoned, the last of which ended with Cromwell's desperate plea: "Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." Alas, his words were not enough. Cromwell was executed at Tower Hill on 28 July 1540.

For many, Cromwell was a Machiavellian villain, corrupted by power and greed for money. The truth is he was a complex man and a great statesman who pursued both power and reform. He genuinely wanted and believed in the changes that he was making, which formed the basis of England as a future Protestant nation. Henry later upbraided the Privy Council for Cromwell's death, claiming "upon light pretext, by false accusations, they made him put to death the most faithful servant he ever had" – a testament to Cromwell's enduring loyalty and devotion.



ABOVE Holbein's infamous portrait of Anne of Cleves
Image source: wiki/Louvre Museum

FORGOTTEN FRONTS OF WORLD WAR I

We explore the horrors and heroics that took place beyond the Western Front of Europe

Written by Callum McKelvie

EXPERT BIO

Leading military historian Dr Peter Johnston is head of research and academic access at the National Army Museum in London. He has written about many areas of British military history, including British propaganda in WWI and the Falklands War.

Between 1914-18 over 30 nations declared war and joined in the conflict which we now remember as World War I. There were troops everywhere from the Middle East to Africa. Yet today when we see the conflict portrayed in films, books and documentaries the prevailing image is of the Western Front and France, from novels such as *All Quiet On The Western Front* to films such as Sam Mendez's *1917.*

Speaking to Dr Peter Johnston, head of research at the National Army Museum in Chelsea, we asked him about some of World War I's 'forgotten fronts'. "The popular memory of World War I in Britain is dominated by imagery of the Western Front, of trenches, of mud, and of British men struggling to advance over small patches of ground," he says. "But the conflict saw the British Army engaged across the world; British troops fought in Europe, in east, west and south-west Africa, at Gallipoli in Turkey, in Mesopotamia and Palestine, and even as far afield as China."

Moving even further away and examining other fronts, most of which the British forces had no involvement in, a vast array of rarely-spoken-of areas of battle emerge that completely shatter the popular image that most of us have of the war. Over the next few pages we highlight some of these forgotten fronts, showing the truly global nature of World War I.

© Getty Images

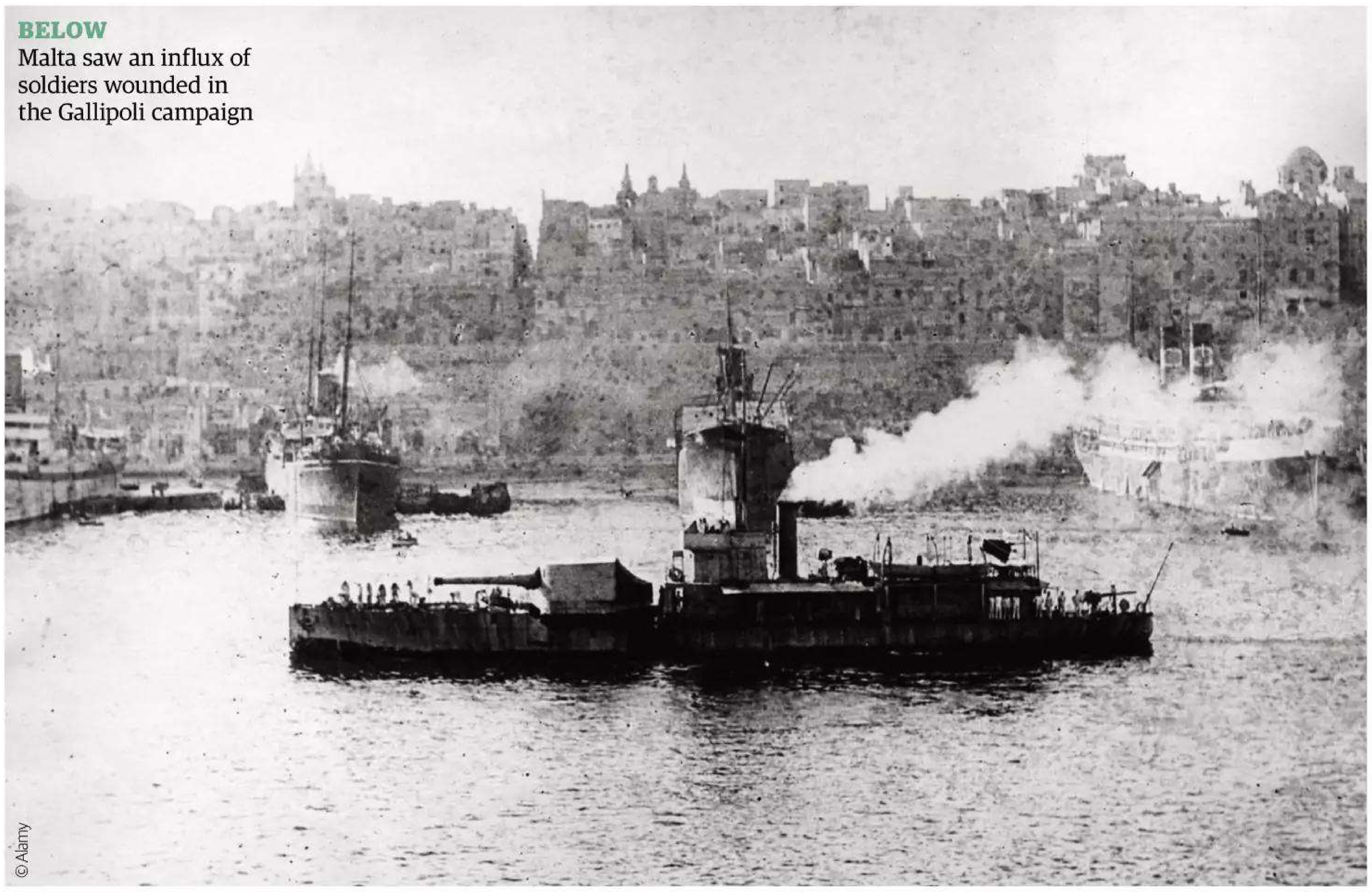
CHINA

China, initially neutral, found itself acting as an important battle ground in the early years of the war. "The port of Tsingtao was fought over by the British and Germans," Johnston explains. "But the war also saw China open itself up far more to the world. The main form this took was the supplying of workers in lieu of soldiers for service in Europe. The French and British started to bring Chinese workers to France as early as 1916 to act as labourers, freeing up more of their soldiers for frontline service. Of all the international labourers brought to Europe, China sent the largest number of men, around 140,000, and its workers remained in France the longest. Those recruited by the British were collectively known as the Chinese Labour Corps, and would continue working on the former battlefields until 1920. Those under the French stayed until 1922, working to clear live ammunition, exhume bodies from battlefields and carve gravestones for war cemeteries. These Chinese labourers were critical to the British and French war efforts and about 3,000 men lost their lives."

However, despite this, following the war a schism emerged between the allies as they refused to assist China in liberating those areas that had been occupied by the Japanese in the early years of the war. "China had declared war on Germany and joined the Allied side in 1917," Johnston continues. "But in the aftermath of the war the Great Powers - Britain, France and the USA - treated China unfairly and refused to return Shandong, instead allowing Japan to take over German interests in China. Shandong was an integral part of Chinese territory and was considered to be the cradle of Chinese civilization and a Holy Land for the Chinese. Its inhabitants were entirely Chinese in race, language and religion. In return, China refused to sign the Treaty of Versailles - the only nation that refused to do so."

Image source: wiki/ Imperial War Museum

ABOVE
Chinese labourers were vital to the British and French



BELOW
Malta saw an influx of soldiers wounded in the Gallipoli campaign

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"In total, 136,121 wounded or sick soldiers were treated in Malta, earning it the nickname of 'the Nurse of the Mediterranean'"

MALTA

Few places during World War I occupied the unique position of Malta, an archipelago located in the Mediterranean between Sicily and the North African coast. Dr Johnston explains: "Malta was a British colony in World War I and so was heavily involved in the war effort, particularly from 1915 onwards when campaigns were launched at Gallipoli and in Salonika in the Balkans." In 1915 the British, French and ANZAC forces began an ambitious amphibian assault at Gallipoli as part of a plot to allow Allied ships through the Dardanelles to finally defeat Ottoman Turkey. However, the campaign was a disaster and Malta suddenly found itself with an influx of wounded soldiers being sent there for treatment. "It was a major medical hub, with 27 military hospitals," Johnston tells us. "In total, 136,121 wounded or sick soldiers were treated in Malta, earning it the nickname of 'the Nurse of the Mediterranean'. Thousands are still there, buried in the cemeteries of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission."

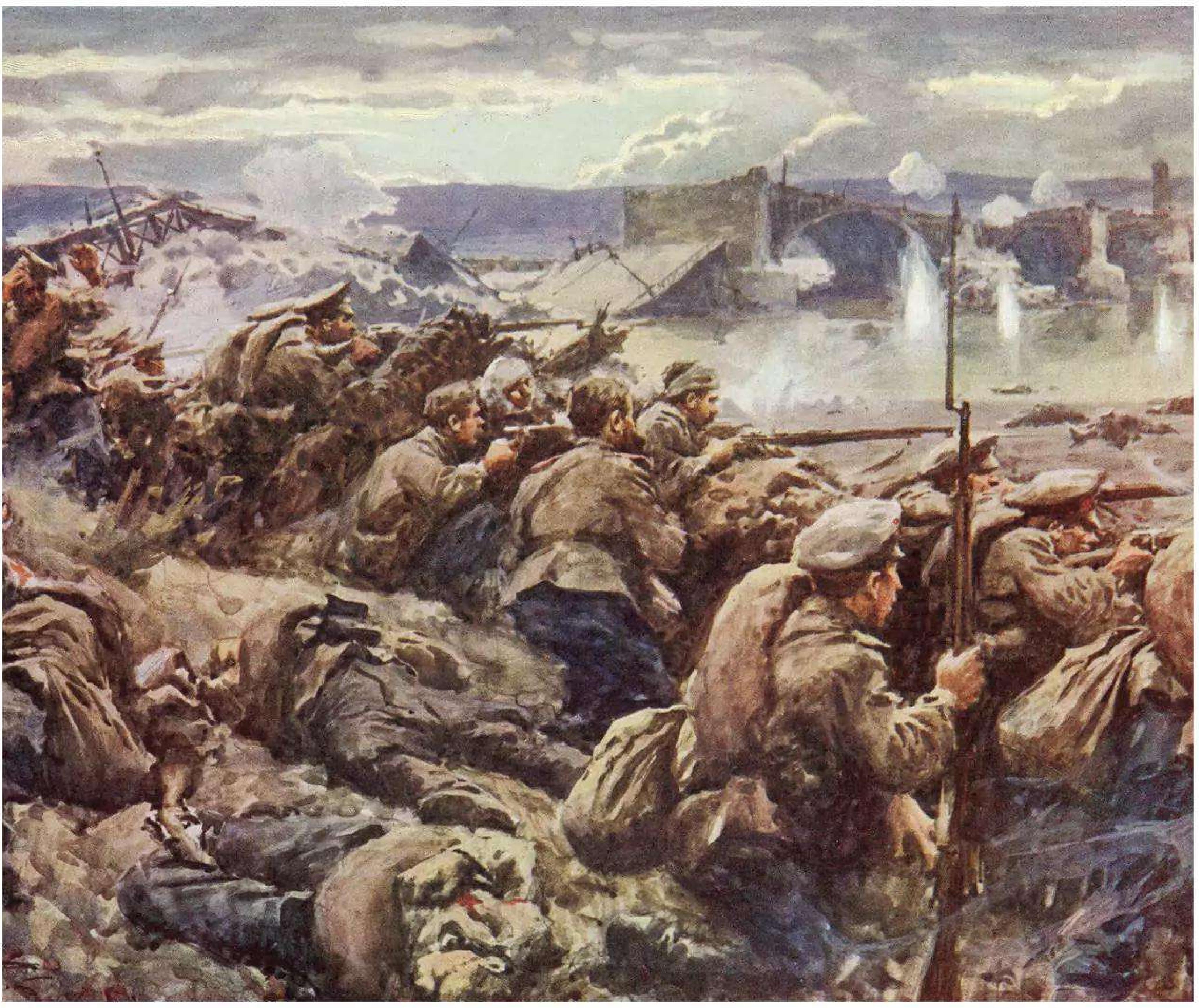
© Getty Images

THE EASTERN FRONT

In 1931 Winston Churchill penned a series of volumes examining the history of World War I. The work was titled *The Unknown War*, which seems particularly apt for the volume examining the campaign on the Eastern Front. That much of the Eastern Front's history remains untold is unusual, because compared to the West (where armies would face long periods in trenches fighting over small patches of land) the battle in the East was decidedly mobile. Huge movements of troops were required by both the Germans, Russians and Austro-Hungarians as advances and retreats took place over hundreds of miles.

Upon mobilisation, Russia's army was Europe's largest, with some 3.5 million men, and they were spread out on a front some 500km long. However, because of their large numbers, as the conflict wore on Russia struggled to equip its soldiers to fight (with some reports stating there was only one rifle for every three soldiers). Back in Russia, there was a constant struggle to mine the natural resources it had available and industrialise in such a way that they could be used to contribute to the war effort. The result was a shattering of moral and vast losses.

These factors would be key contributors to the Russian Revolutions that would occur in 1917. When Vladimir Lenin seized control he negotiated the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk with Germany, which ended Russia's involvement in the war.



© Alamy

ABOVE Poorly equipped Russian soldiers suffered heavy losses

LEFT Around 3.5 million Russian troops fought in WWI

AFRICA

"Africa was an important battleground during World War I," Johnston tells us. "As well as supplying troops for the fighting – troops from French North Africa fought for France in Europe – it was also a major battleground. For the British, the war really began in west Africa three days after Britain declared war on Germany, with the first shots being fired on 7 August 1914 by Lance Corporal Alhaji Grunshi of the Gold Coast Regiment in Togoland, now Togo. There were further campaigns in Kamerun and south-west Africa, as well as in east Africa. This was the longest campaign of World War I, with fighting not formally ending until 25 November 1918."

But as stated previously, Africa was not just a battleground for the Western powers: many local people were conscripted and served both the Allies and Central Powers. "Africans from across the continent fought for both sides during the war, and their colonisers," Johnston continues. "They served as soldiers, but many more served as porters and carriers. As many as 90,000 carriers may have died in British service in the east African campaign."

However, like many battlegrounds during the conflict, the post-war cost for Africa was colossal and reached far and wide. "There were also severe consequences for Africa as a result of the war," Johnston explains. "As well as colonies changing hands, a combination of poor rains, and the casualties, resulted in poor harvests and famines, and the Spanish Flu pandemic also struck."

BELOW The bitter fighting in Africa during World War I has often been overlooked

Image source: wiki/ Imperial War Museum

LEBANON

One of World War I's forgotten tragedies is the famine of Mount Lebanon in what was known as Greater Syria. On 25 August 1915, the Allied Powers declared a blockade on the Ottoman Empire's Mediterranean coast. There was of course an understanding such a policy would have a profound result upon the civilian population but the decision was taken anyway. As food shortages began, additional factors contributed to the continuing lack of food in the area. General Jamal Pasha, commander in chief of the Turkish forces in Greater Syria, introduced a blockade of his own which prevented cereal and wheat from entering Mount Lebanon. Finally, a swarm of locusts descended and devoured all the crops and harvests that had not been distributed among the Ottoman military. The famine lasted for three years and claimed an estimated 500,000 lives.

In September 1918, British and Arabian forces under the command of General Edmund Allenby and Faysal I invaded Palestine, signalling the beginning of the occupation of Lebanon.

2x Image source: Australian War Memorial

FAR-LEFT
Sikh troops saw action in WWI

LEFT
Australian cavalry prepare for battle

JAPAN

BELOW
Japan used WWI to seize territory held by Germany

In 1902 Japan had signed an alliance with Great Britain, with the result being that in 1914 (like numerous other countries) they found themselves declaring war on Germany, despite deep misgivings about the prospect. Initially, numerous requests from Britain to provide naval or troop support were declined. In 1917, a task force of Japanese ships was sent to assist in the Mediterranean, named the Second Special Squadron.

However, Japan did focus much of its military efforts at home, seeing an unprecedented opportunity to expand into continental Asia. After issuing an ultimatum demanding Germany withdraw its fleet from Asian waters and hand over the Jiaozhou Bay concession, the stage was set for the establishment of a military foothold in China. "Japan had taken the opportunity presented by the war to seize territories from Germany and expand its influence as a world power," Johnston explains. "While its short-term economic boom did not last, the comparative ease of Japan's victories, combined with domestic political instability, contributed to a growth of militarism that sought to further extend Japan's political dominance across South-East Asia and the Pacific and secure economic resources through the use of force."

© Getty Images

The National Army Museum in Chelsea is showcasing two new exhibitions: *Foe To Friend – The British Army In Germany Since 1945* and *Buried Amongst Kings: The Story Of The Unknown Warrior*. Both exhibitions are free to enter. To visit the museum visitors must book a time slot in advance. See nam.ac.uk for full details.

SLAVE UPRISING

The Nat Turner Rebellion

Often attributed to its leader, Nat Turner, the Southampton Rebellion was a natural consequence of the brutal Southern slave system

Written by Hareth Al Bustani

In 1831, a group of enslaved people in Virginia launched a 36-hour rampage that left almost 60 White people dead. Although the White establishment was desperate to paint the incident as an anomalous plot organised by a bloodthirsty barbarian, the reality spoke for itself. It was the natural consequence of the brutal system of slavery so deeply threaded into the veins of Southern antebellum society.

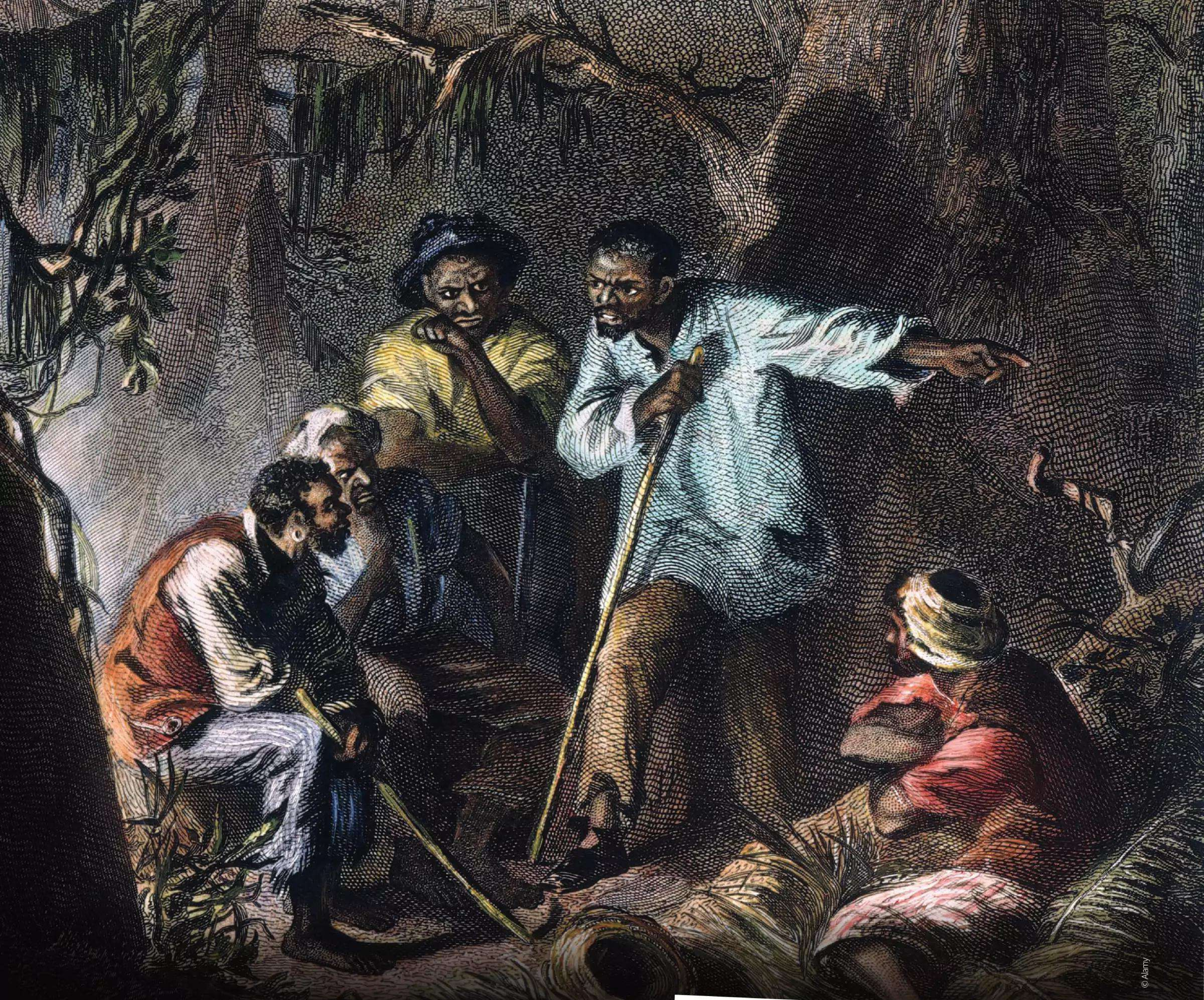
At the turn of the 19th century, the invention of the cotton gin had completely transformed the South. The American cotton industry, centred in the Deep South, exploded, becoming the country's leading export as it fought its way towards international trading supremacy. With profits soaring, so too did demand for slaves, and when the international slave trade was abolished in 1808, Upper South states like Virginia gained a stranglehold over the country's domestic slave market.

By 1820, two-fifths of Virginia's one million population were enslaved people, with 1.5 million more scattered across the South. Slaves were the legal property of their owners, who enforced strict control over how they lived, dishing out cruel punishments for those who broke the rules. For the enslaved, simply holding social meetings and church services were great acts of rebellion.

While slave owners and overseers were responsible for supervising slaves during the day, Virginia's 101,488 militia members took care of the night patrols. One Southampton County resident, Allen Crawford, recalled: "Patrollers would whip you if they caught you without a pass."

White slave-owners used systematic brutality to keep Black slaves in perpetual terror. One escapee, Julian Wright, had a chain clamped around her leg so tightly it became infected, stripping all the flesh from the bone. When a Virginian slave, Lucy, could not work the fields because she was in labour, her overseer whipped her so severely she later died – her daughter born with lash marks on her back. Another, Fannie Berry, recalled how after being severely whipped, a fellow slave remarked, "Fannie, I don' had my las' whippin'. I gwine to God," before killing herself.

As a natural reaction to this oppression, many enslaved people developed their own system of evasion – keeping their meetings secret while sending lookouts to track patrols and, if need be, lead them into dead ends or strategically placed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brambles. One group kept a pile of hot ash and coals ready during meetings, hurling it when the patrol arrived.

In the 1820s, the Deep South's cotton supply grew so large the global price dropped by 55 percent. The resultant depression clogged up the domestic slave market, leaving Virginia with a massive slave population. In 1829, Virginia governor John Floyd warned the legislature about the "spirit of dissatisfaction and insubordination" among the country's slaves. While this received little attention, a minor media frenzy accompanied the acquittal of a Black man, Jasper Ellis, accused of "promoting an insurrection of the slaves".

This "spirit of dissatisfaction" was only amplified when the Virginia Constitutional Convention of 1829-30 maintained a commitment to slavery. Ironically, the delegate Charles Ingersoll, who argued that "no one man comes in the world with a mark on him to designate him as possessing superior rights to any other man" was a staunch anti-abolitionist.

Although the country's leading abolitionists met at the Negro Conventions of 1830 and 1831 to propose creating a college for Black people, the Virginia legislature only further suppressed and disenfranchised slaves. It banned free Black people from

▶

ABOVE This 1863 engraving depicts Nat Turner and some of his fellow rebels

RIGHT In the early 19th century the Deep South's cotton industry exploded, creating an unprecedented demand for enslaved workers

© Getty Images

congregating for the purposes of education, marrying Whites or living with slaves, and sold all Black criminals into slavery.

It was in this climate, amidst the hot and sticky swamps and forests of Southampton, torn between endless brutality and fleeting promise, that Nat Turner fomented his violent rebellion. Born a Southampton slave in 1800, rebellion ran in Turner's blood: his father had run away, successfully escaping all the way to Liberia. Turner began having religious experiences as a young boy and, having learned to read and write, grew up believing himself to be a prophet – interpreting coded messages from God in visions and signs in nature. These visions culminated in "a loud noise in the heavens", a solar eclipse and an atmospheric phenomenon that, by August 1831, convinced him that he must rise up in violent revolt.

On 21 August, after a night spent dining on a stolen pig, Turner led a group of followers to his master's house, where they butchered the entire family with hatchets – even a sleeping infant. During the following day-and-a-half the rebels moved from plantation to plantation, freeing slaves, taking weapons and murdering every White person in their path. At their peak the rebels numbered around 50, killing almost 60 people before being dispersed by the local militia 36 hours into their rampage. While most of his accomplices were arrested and executed, Turner remained on the run.

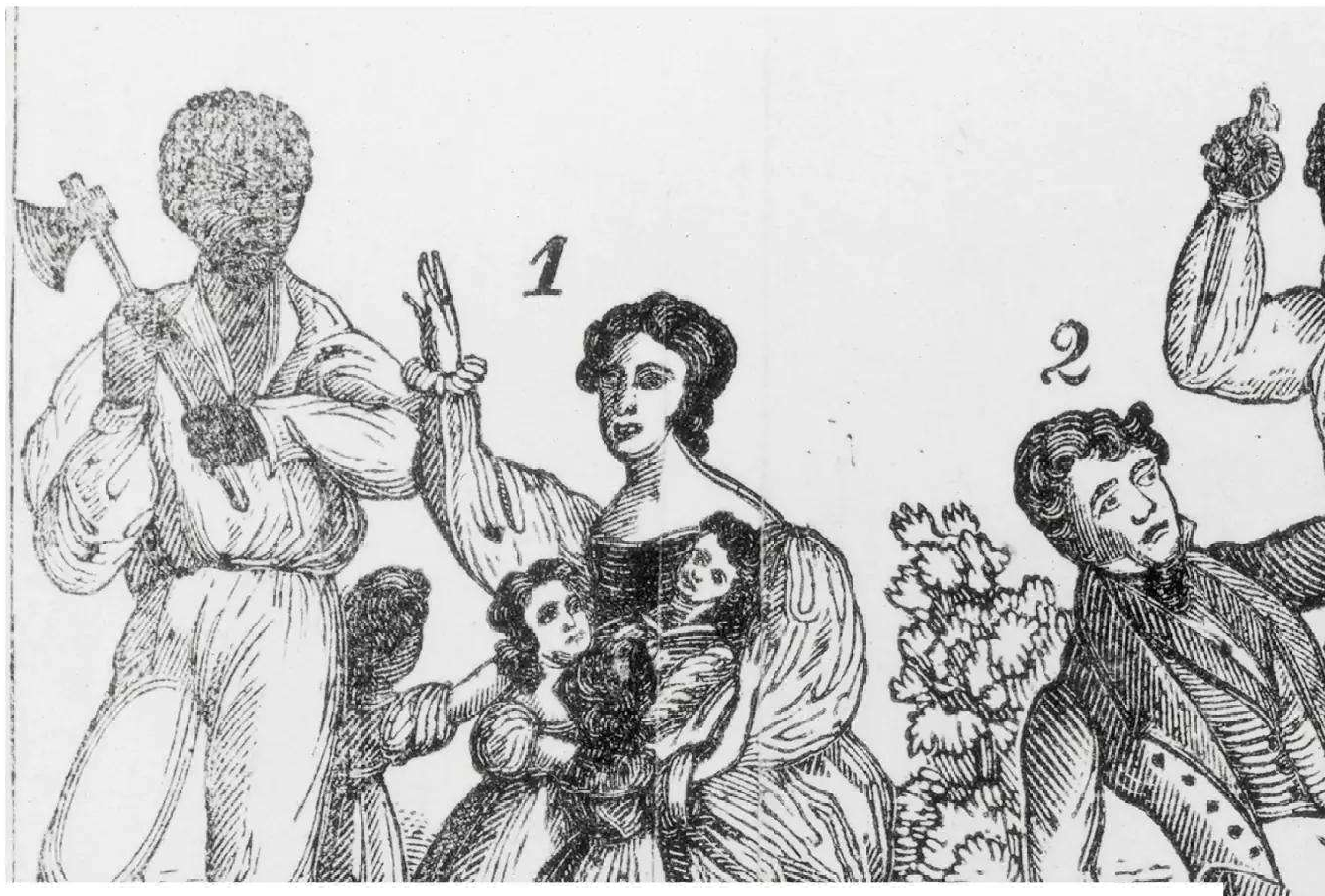
Although the rebellion lasted less than two days, it sent a tidal wave of terror and hysteria across the South. Plantations were abandoned as owners whisked their families away to hideouts, anticipating further carnage. Rumours spread of further insurrections, such as fictitious stories of maids caught plotting to kill children, Black men caught with huge arsenals of guns, and Turner sightings across the country. When a second rebellion in neighbouring North Carolina involving 25 slaves was betrayed by an African American freedman, the paranoia reached frenzied heights. In the Virginia town of Petersburg, when a report of a 500-strong slave rebellion was proved to be a false alarm, an English bookseller remarked that Black people should be emancipated. He was stripped, lashed and chased out of town.

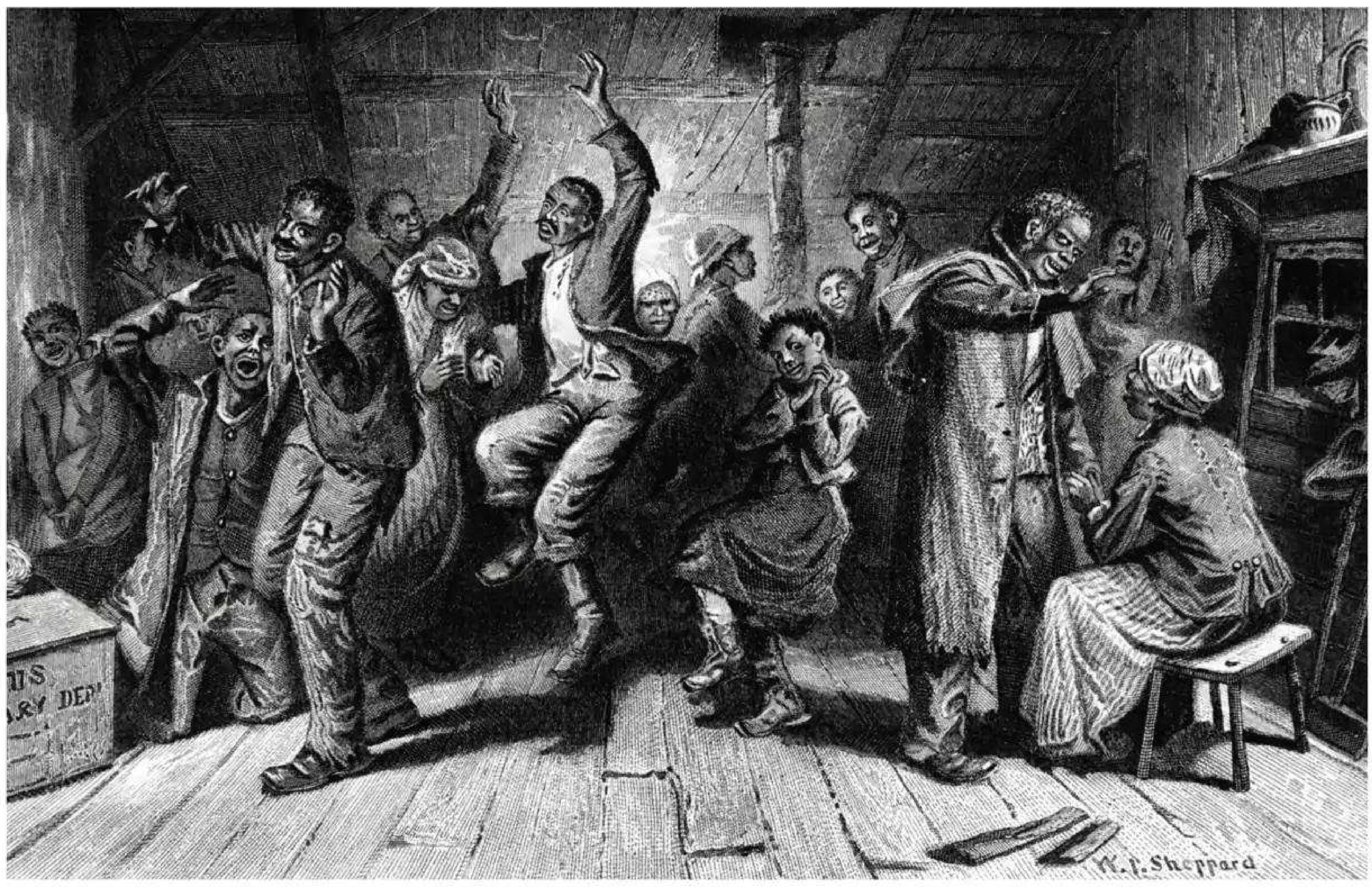
"For slaves, simply holding social meetings and church services constituted great acts of rebellion"

Amidst the panic and hysteria, White volunteers rode across the South, torturing, burning and murdering any African Americans they came across. Newspapers ran stories on prolific killers, one of whom boasted of lynching 15 Black people alone. In Georgia, slaves were tied to trees en masse and hacked to death. One enslaved person who had saved his master from the rebels was gunned down by his owner for refusing to help track them down.

After six weeks, Turner was discovered by chance in Dismal Swamp by a hunter. The last rebel to be caught, he was interviewed in jail by a wealthy Southampton lawyer and slave-owner, Thomas Gray. The subsequent essay, *The Confessions of Nat Turner,* was used as evidence against him during his trial. Less than a fortnight after his capture he was found guilty and hanged before a large crowd. His corpse was skinned and his flesh turned into souvenirs and grease, his bones handed out as keepsakes.

Though Turner was dead, his belief that other slaves would rise up to claim their rightful freedom was shared by the White establishment, who desperately sought to contain White fear





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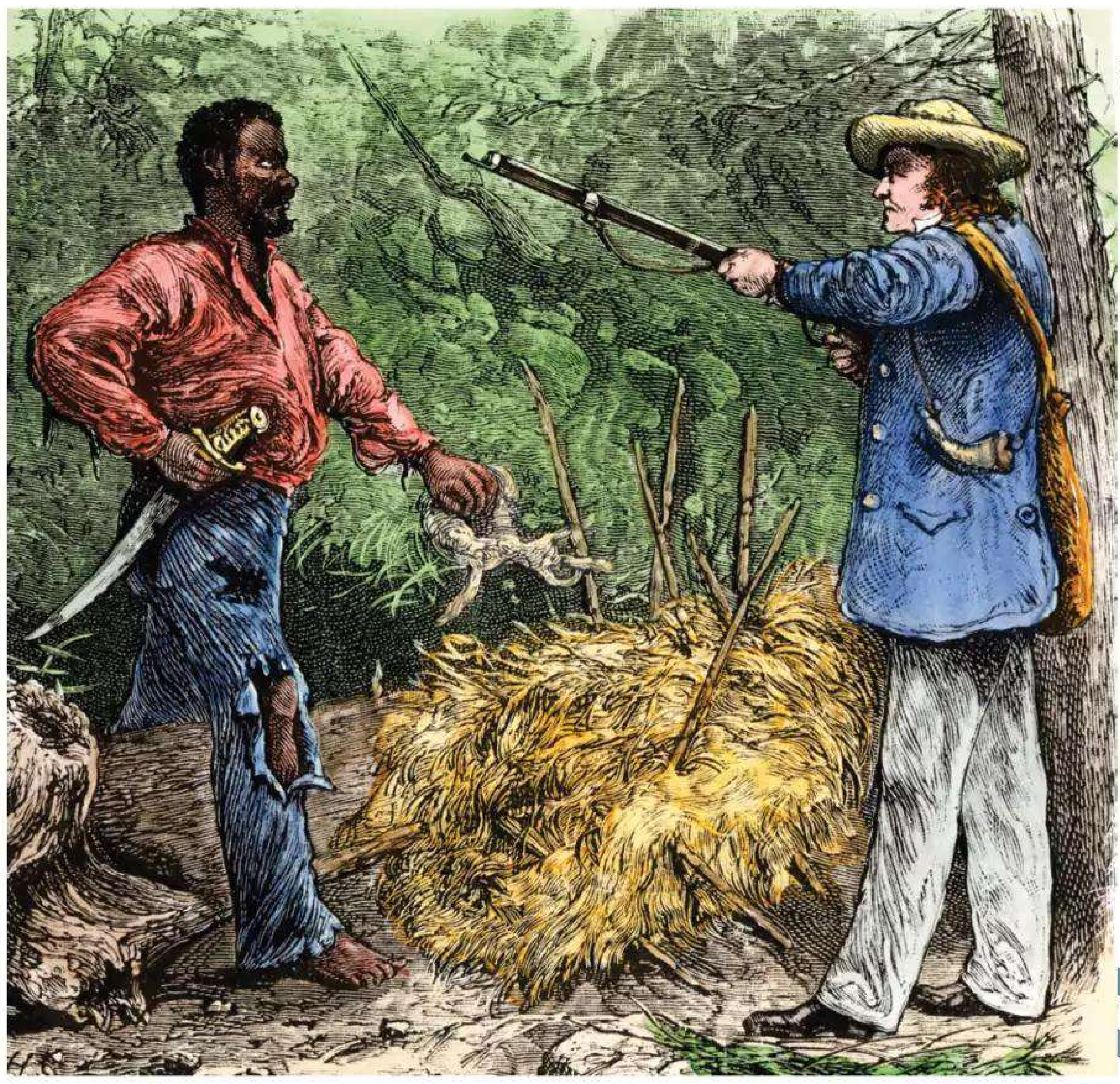
ABOVE African American slaves who met to worship were risking torture and death if caught

RIGHT During the six weeks Nat Turner remained on the run, the South was swept up in violent anti-Black hysteria



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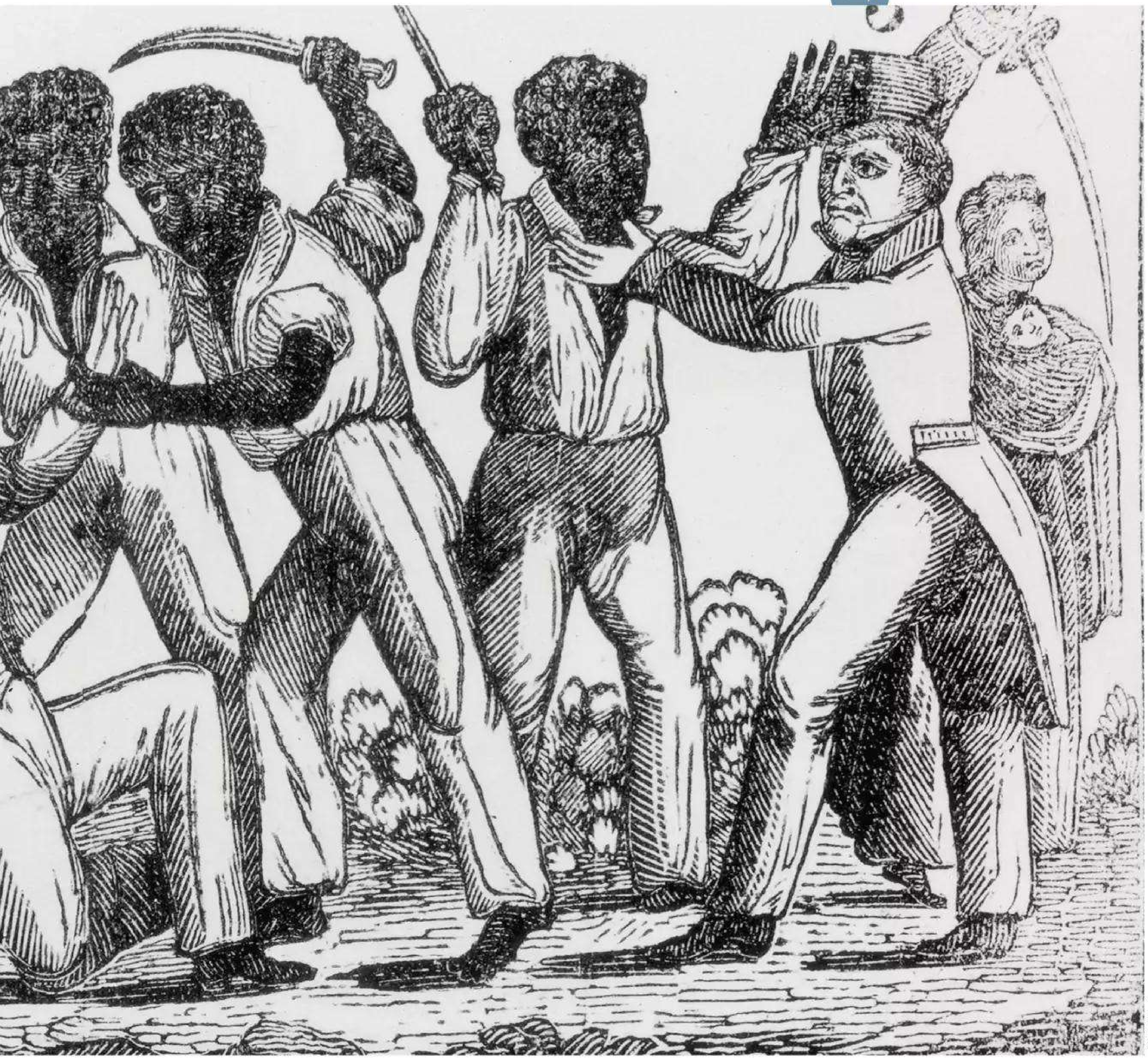


© Getty Images

ABOVE The violent events of August 1831 shocked Virginia's White establishment to its core, forcing it to reevaluate its commitment to slavery

and mitigate slaves' expectations. Virginia's governor John Floyd delivered a paranoid address to the legislature, stressing the need to silence Black preachers and shut down freedom of movement. Even though free African Americans had nothing to do with the revolt, the governor saw them as the driving force behind the emerging abolition movement.

Turner's revolt brought the issue of slavery to the forefront, and before long the Virginia legislature was inundated with petitions and requests ranging from the emancipation of slaves to the deportation of free Black people to Africa. On 25 January 1832, after fierce debate, the legislature's special committee concluded that while most of its members believed slavery was evil, none were willing to pay the price of abolishing it. The committee chairman, William Brodnax, lamented the result but expressed faith that slavery would someday be eradicated gradually.

With emancipation off the cards and the bill to deport Black people to Africa postponed indefinitely by the Senate, Virginia and its neighbouring states introduced a series of laws designed to further suppress Black people's rights. These included banning African Americans from meeting in groups after 10pm, preaching without a licence, immigrating, owning arms, attending their own religious services, learning to read, selling food or tobacco and buying alcoholic spirits.

While the Southampton Rebellion did not inspire the wider revolution Turner had hoped it would, it did force Southern slave states to recognise that slavery was an evil that must one day be abolished. It was not Turner's' Rebellion, but a reflex reaction to the systemised barbarity of slavery. The event left a gaping wound in the legitimacy of slavery that would be torn wide open just decades later as the country erupted into Civil War, marking the end of American slavery and the beginning of a new chapter in the fight for civil liberty. ○

A History Of American Slave Revolts

The Southampton Rebellion is often considered the most 'successful' revolt, but it wasn't the first or even the largest

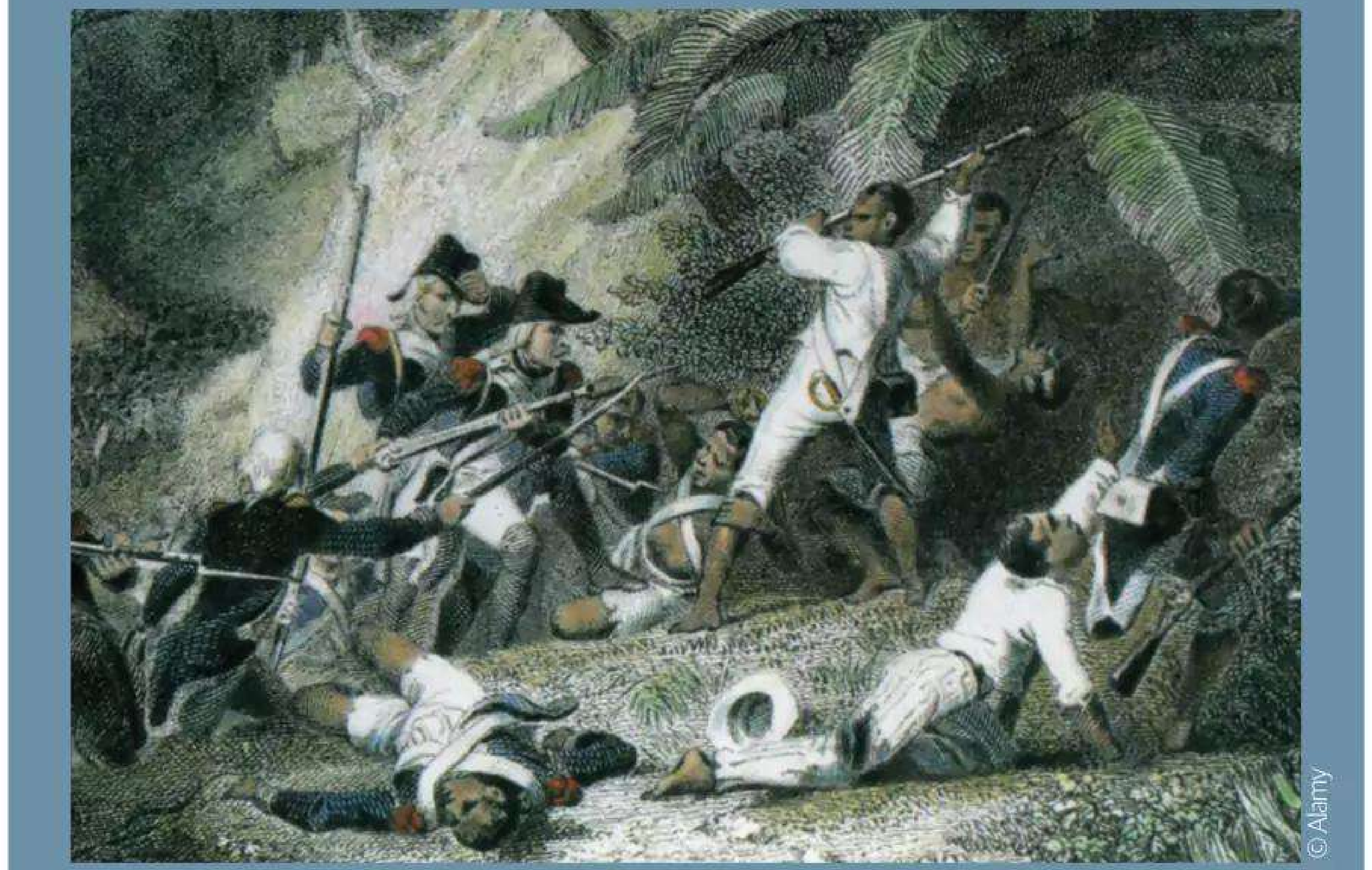
While some historians have identified records of more than 300 slave revolts in the US alone, the country's first all-Black rebellion took place in Virginia in 1687 with the Westmoreland Slave Plot. Half-a-century later, in 1739, a slave named Jemmy led 100 Angolan slaves on a killing spree across the Stono River region towards St Augustine, Florida, where they would be free under Spanish law. They fought for a week before being suppressed by the English, inspiring a series of subsequent revolts.

Two years later, when a series of fires broke out across New York and Long Island, it was blamed on a joint slave-Catholic conspiracy, sparking off a witch-hunt. Despite little evidence, up to 40 enslaved people were hanged or burned at the stake, alongside four Whites. Many more were exiled.

In 1791 the slaves of Saint-Domingue, the world's most profitable slave colony, rose up in revolt against their French colonial masters. Thirteen years later they emerged victorious, founding the independent nation of Haiti. Among those who were inspired by the Haitian Revolution was a literate enslaved blacksmith known today as Gabriel Prosser who, in 1800, planned to raise 1,000 slaves in revolt beneath a banner of "Death or Liberty". But he was betrayed and executed alongside 25 Black men.

Just 11 years later another slave inspired by the Haitian Revolution, Charles Deslondes, organised a rebellion along Louisiana's German Coast with the aim of capturing New Orleans. After swelling to roughly 125 men, the rebels were only defeated after two days of bitter fighting when they ran out of ammunition. After the battle, 100 enslaved people were executed and their severed heads placed along the road to New Orleans.

On July 3 1859, White abolitionist John Brown and his two sons led a raid on Harper's Ferry, Virginia, hoping to instigate a slave rebellion. Despite successfully liberating several slaves, they were eventually put down by local militia and Brown was hanged for treason.



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The Southampton Rebellion was one of many slave revolts inspired by the successful Haitian slave revolution

Сталинским духом
крепка и сильна
армия наша
и наша страна!
За родину!
За Сталина!

SMERSH:

STALIN'S SPY HUNTERS

Revealing the Kremlin's secret and sinister organisation that hunted enemy agents during World War II

Written by Callum McKelvie

Red Army soldiers at a victory parade in 1945. Soldiers like these would have had SMERSH units attached to their own

3x © Getty Images

'NOT FOR THE FIRST TIME, BOND FELT HIS SPINE CRAWL AT THE COLD, BRILLIANT EFFICIENCY OF THE SOVIET MACHINE, AND AT THE FEAR OF DEATH AND TORTURE WHICH MADE IT WORK AND OF WHICH THE SUPREME ENGINE WAS SMERSH – SMERSH THE VERY WHISPER OF DEATH'

Ian Fleming, *Live And Let Die* (1954)

Ian Fleming's 1953 novel *Casino Royale* introduced the world to suave super-spy James Bond. As has been noted by academics in the decades following the book's publication and even by Fleming himself, he drew much from his own wartime experiences as a naval intelligence officer. Yet despite this, Fleming was keen to keep his books as up-to-date and contemporary as possible. The result was that the Soviet Union, whose uneasy alliance with Britain and America had collapsed in the years following the end of the war, was selected as James Bond's primary antagonist for Fleming's novels, in particular the shadowy intelligence organisation SMERSH. However, while James Bond may be fictional, SMERSH were terrifyingly real.

Despite not being the villains in any of the films (although it's framed as such in *From Russia With Love* and *The Living Daylights*, usually replaced with the criminal organisation SPECTRE) SMERSH appears in several of the 14 James Bond books. Fleming's version is of course vicious, violent and not entirely accurate to the actions and objectives of the real, equally shady organisation. To begin with, Fleming states that the group was behind the assassination of Leon Trotsky in Mexico in 1940. However, the real SMERSH (which is a portmanteau of the Russian phrase 'Smert Shpionam', meaning 'Death to Spies') was in fact founded some short time prior to 1943, when the first evidence exists of the organisation being fully operational. Put simply, it was intended to handle Soviet military counter-intelligence. Previously, all Soviet military counter-intelligence had been handled by the Special Departments of the NKVD, but SMERSH was part of the Defense Commissariat. SMERSH's chief, Viktor S Abakumov, reported directly to Joseph Stalin himself, who at the time acted as Defense Comisar. Indeed, it was on Stalin's orders that the organisation had been created in the first place. Evidence suggests that due to the vast size of the Red Army in 1943 (around 15 million to 17 million men) SMERSH was created primarily to monitor and stop any possible German infiltrations, hence it being separate from other military intelligence groups. So involved was the communist dictator that even the name is supposed to have come from Stalin. During a meeting to discuss the new organisation, a suggestion was apparently made that it should be called 'Smernesh' or 'Smert Nemetskim Shpionam' (translating as 'death to German spies'). Stalin paused for a moment and then responded: "And why as a matter of fact should we be speaking only of German spies? Aren't other intelligence services working against our country? Let's call it 'Smert Shpionam'."

Soon after Abakumov was appointed SMERSH commander in chief. Abakumov was an incredibly powerful figure, and his position running one of the Kremlin's most secretive organisations and reporting directly to Stalin himself made him a force to be reckoned with. Yet Abakumov was also something of a cad, with a reputation as a notorious womaniser. He was known as a regular night-time visitor to the NKVD/MGB club, where he would use a private room to have sexual encounters with numerous mistresses whom he ▶

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> "SMERSH IS A PORTMANTEAU OF THE RUSSIAN PHRASE 'SMERT SHPIONAM' WHICH MEANS 'DEATH TO SPIES'"

plied with imported liquors and gifted French perfume. He also reportedly used the Moskva Hotel, NKVD safe houses and a lavish apartment that he had seized from a soprano for his illicit meet-ups.

Prior to his work as the head of SMERSH's operations this behaviour had in fact seen him fired from the economics department of the NKVD. At this point he had gained a reputation for stalking the streets of Moscow looking for prostitutes. He would then take them to the Moskva Hotel but supposedly also had a number of 'private brothels' under his control. Mikhail Shreider, a senior NKVD officer, was disgusted at Abakumov's behaviour and wrote a furious report that saw him dismissed immediately.

However, Abakumov evidently had friends in high places as he kept getting new positions. He was reassigned to the Gulag as 'an inspector at the main directorate of labour camps' in 1933. Following this, in April 1937 he was transferred to the Secret-Political Department of the GUGB (a forerunner of the NKVD) where he participated in three of the 'Great Terror' investigation cases. In 1938 he was promoted to head of the second section, before being given the highest Chekist post as head of the Rostov Province NKVD and then state secretary major (equivalent to a major general in the army) in 1939. In 1941, he was given the promotion that would put him in a senior position in the NKVD and make him one of the most powerful men working under Lavrentiy Beria, the feared head of the secret police.

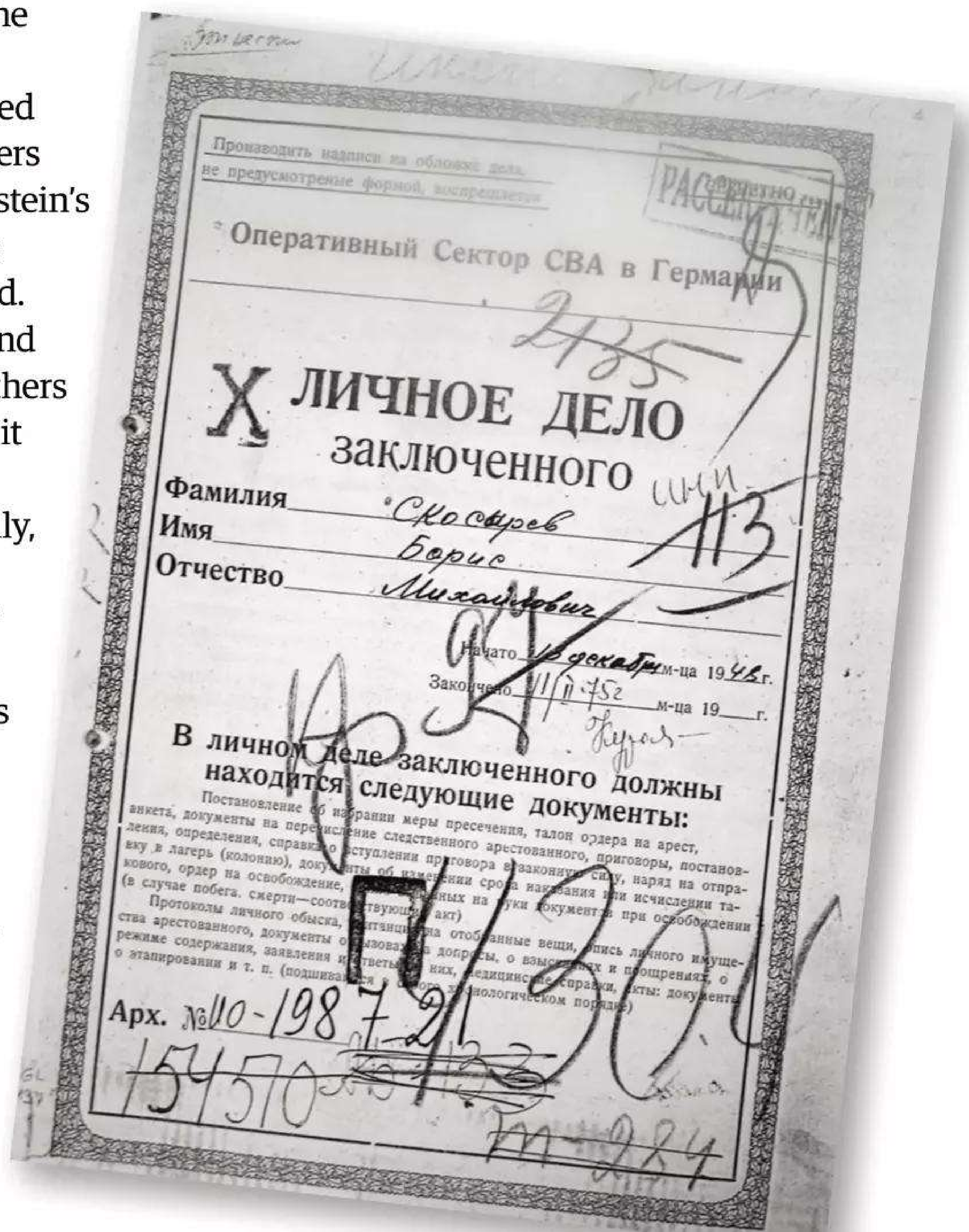
For all his faults, Abakumov seemed to be well liked by many of the officers working under him. In Dr Vadim Birstein's *SMERSH: Stalin's Secret Weapon*, one veteran stated: "He was greatly feared. All the veterans said he was tough and wilful. He worked a lot and forced others to work a lot. I liked his appearance, it gained everyone's favour."

The work of SMERSH was, naturally, incredibly secretive and as a result there is very little surviving primary source material, making it hard to discern exactly what their operations involved. Indeed, even detailed battle orders and plans fail to mention the commanders of the secret organisation who were present. Historian Michael Parrish, an associate professor at Indiana University and the author of over 50 books on Soviet history, stated in his book *The Lesser Terror: Soviet State Security 1939-1953* that: "In the vast Soviet literature on the Battle of Kursk, I have yet to come across a single reference to LF Tasnava, the local SMERSH commander."

However, a 1948 US report on Soviet intelligence operations during World War II broke SMERSH down into 14 categories. These included the Staff Surveillance Directorate (responsible for monitoring military staff officers in Moscow), Troop Surveillance Directorate (further US documents reveal some 12 percent of the Soviet military during World War II acted as informants for counter-intelligence), Counter-Espionage directorate (whose role was to conduct espionage operations in enemy territory), Investigation Directorate (whose role was to interrogate and investigate individuals deemed suspicious), Cipher Directorate and Troika – essentially a military court that could punish offensives without a hearing.

SMERSH units were also attached to frontline military groups. Robert Stephen's article *SMERSH: Soviet Military Counter-Intelligence during The Second World War*, states that captured German documents put the number of SMERSH personnel in these groups between 70 and 100, plus a 100-man guard unit.

▶



Производить надписи на обложке дела, не предусмотренные формой, воспрещается

РАССЕКРЕЧЕНО

Оперативный Сектор СВА в Германии

~~2435~~

Х ЛИЧНОЕ ДЕЛО
заключенного

Фамилия Скосырев
Имя Борис
Отчество Михайлович

Начато 18 декабря м-ца 1948 г.
Закончено 11/II 752 м-ца 19 г.

В личном деле заключенного должны находиться следующие документы:

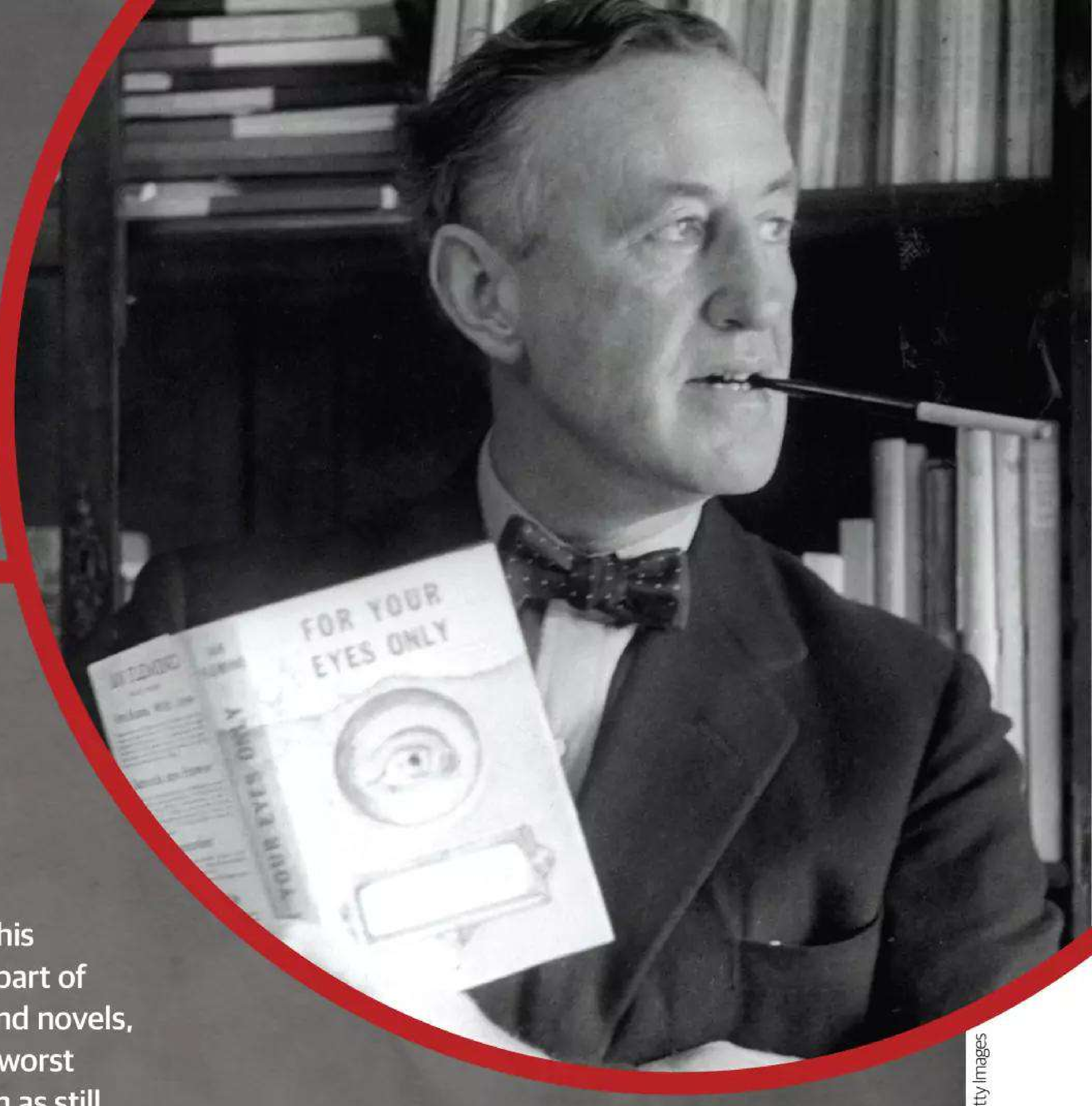
Арх. № 10-1987-21
~~154570~~

LEFT
Minister for state security and SMERSH chief, Viktor Abakumov

RIGHT
A SMERSH investigation file for Boris Skossyreff

FOR YOUR EYES ONLY

We delve deeper into the story of James Bond and SMERSH with Ian Fleming biographer Dr Oliver Buckton



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EXPERT BIO

© Laurence Campbell Buckton

Dr Oliver Buckton is a professor of English at Florida Atlantic University and the author of *Espionage In British Literature And Film Since 1900: The Changing Enemy* (2015). His biography of Ian Fleming is released next year.

Who was Ian Fleming?
Ian Fleming is most famous as the author of the James Bond novels but he was actually in his 40s when he started writing these. He'd had a long career as a journalist, worked briefly as a banker and stockbroker, and was the assistant director of Naval Intelligence during WWII. A key part of Fleming's personality was that he was a fantasist – he wanted to turn ordinary, mundane reality into exciting plots.

Can you tell us something about the fictional version of SMERSH?
SMERSH acts as the organisation behind the villains in the novels up until *Thunderball*. That includes Mr Big in *Live And Let Die*, Hugo Drax in *Moonraker*, Red Grant and Rosa Klebb in *From Russia With Love* and Goldfinger, who acts as SMERSH's 'banker'. Its function in Soviet intelligence in the Bond novels is to create terror but it's also responsible for counter-espionage and routing out traitors. Even the villains who work for SMERSH are afraid of defying it. For example, Le Chiffre, the villain in *Casino Royale*, has embezzled money from SMERSH and he's willing to commit suicide rather than face the consequences. A lot of people know about Bond through the films where SMERSH is not really the villain. In Fleming's books, having this menacing Soviet organisation was part of the propaganda function of the Bond novels, presenting the Soviet Union in the worst possible light and promoting Britain as still a world power.

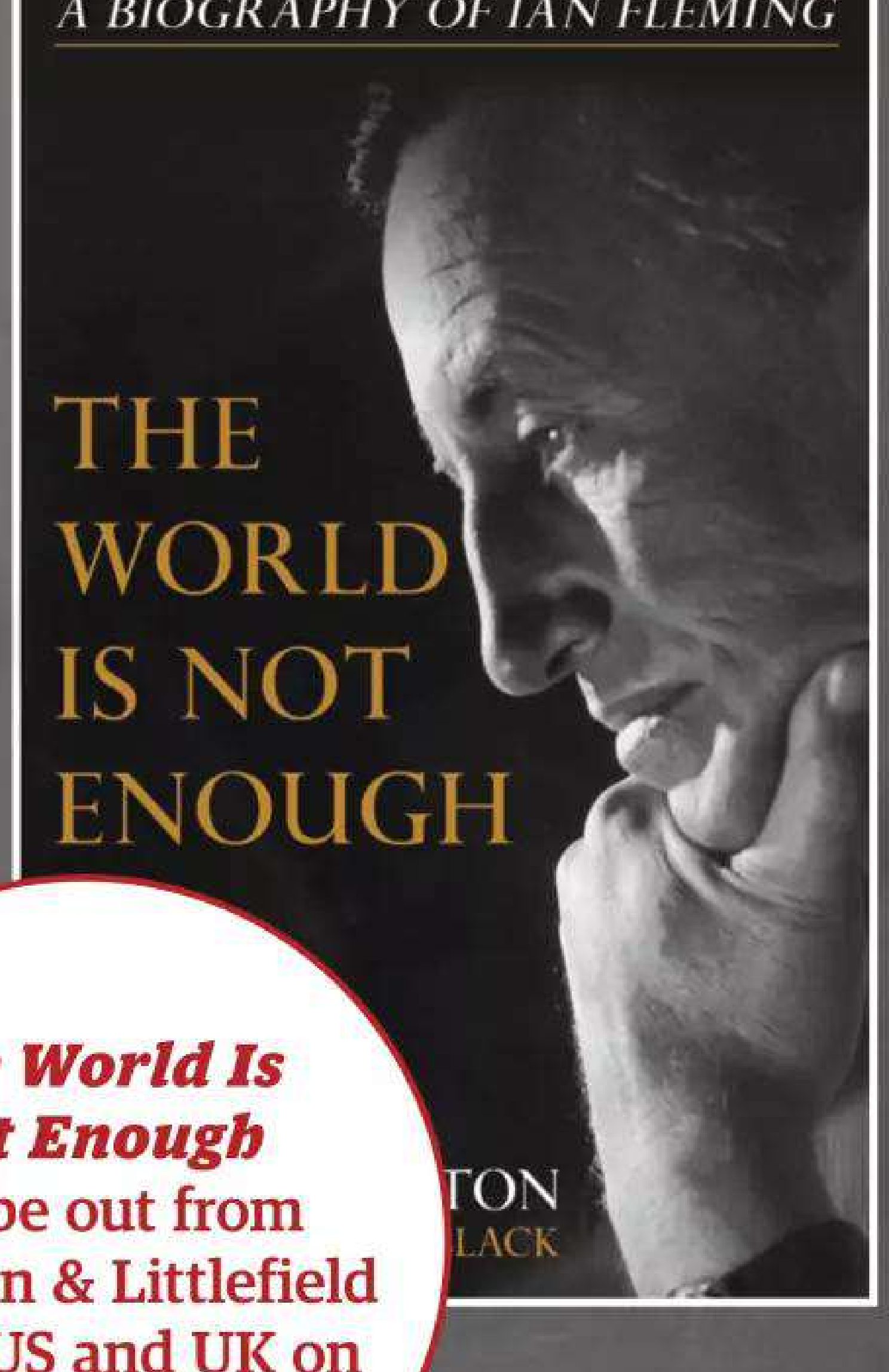
What did Fleming know of the real SMERSH and why did he use it?
He knew it was a real organisation. He had travelled to Russia in the 1930s to cover the Metro-Vickers espionage trial and in 1939 he went to Russia again, ostensibly to cover a trade delegation but actually to write a report on the Soviet preparation for a war and the Soviet intelligence system. Another important source of inspiration was the defector Grigori Topev, who was a Soviet rocket scientist who defected to Britain in 1947 – there was a fear he would be assassinated.

Why did Fleming use SMERSH? I think he sought continuity between these baddies, the sense of a larger organisation at work. He also needed to reflect the times. The Soviet Union, from Britain's perspective, was the main enemy against world peace and Western security, so SMERSH was the ideal organisation to sponsor all these horrific villains and create a sense of a global conspiracy.

Why did Fleming replace SMERSH with SPECTRE in later stories?
In the late-1950s Fleming worked on a screenplay called *Thunderball* with a film producer called Kevin McClory and a writer called Jack Whittingham. Nobody knew how long the Cold War would last, the fictional organisation 'SPECTRE' (Special Executive for Counter Intelligence, Revenge, Extortion) seemed like an idea that wouldn't date the film. Fleming wrote a novel based on *Thunderball* and it's the book in which he launches a whole new series with SPECTRE and its leader, Blofeld, as Bond's nemesis. It was part of Fleming's move to create a villain that would go beyond the Cold War. When Harry Saltzman and Albert Broccoli came to film *Dr No* they also replaced SMERSH with SPECTRE. They wanted to emphasise fantasy and escapism, not Cold War politics. SPECTRE is about extortion and terrorism but its agenda is not political as much as it's about grabbing power wherever it can.

JAMES BOND
CASINO ROYALE
BY IAN FLEMING
JAMES BOND
LIVE AND LET DIE
JAMES BOND
Dr NO
JAMES BOND
DIAMONDS ARE FOREVER
BY IAN FLEMING
JAMES BOND
THUNDERBALL
BY IAN FLEMING
JAMES BOND
MOONRAKER
BY IAN FLEMING
JAMES BOND
FROM RUSSIA
JAMES BOND
FOR YOUR EYES ONLY
PAN books

BELOW SMERSH plays a sinister role in several Bond novels



The World Is Not Enough will be out from Rowman & Littlefield in the US and UK on 15 June 2021

Image source: wiki/ United Press

SPY HUNTER ON THE RUN

The Soviet agent who defected to the West

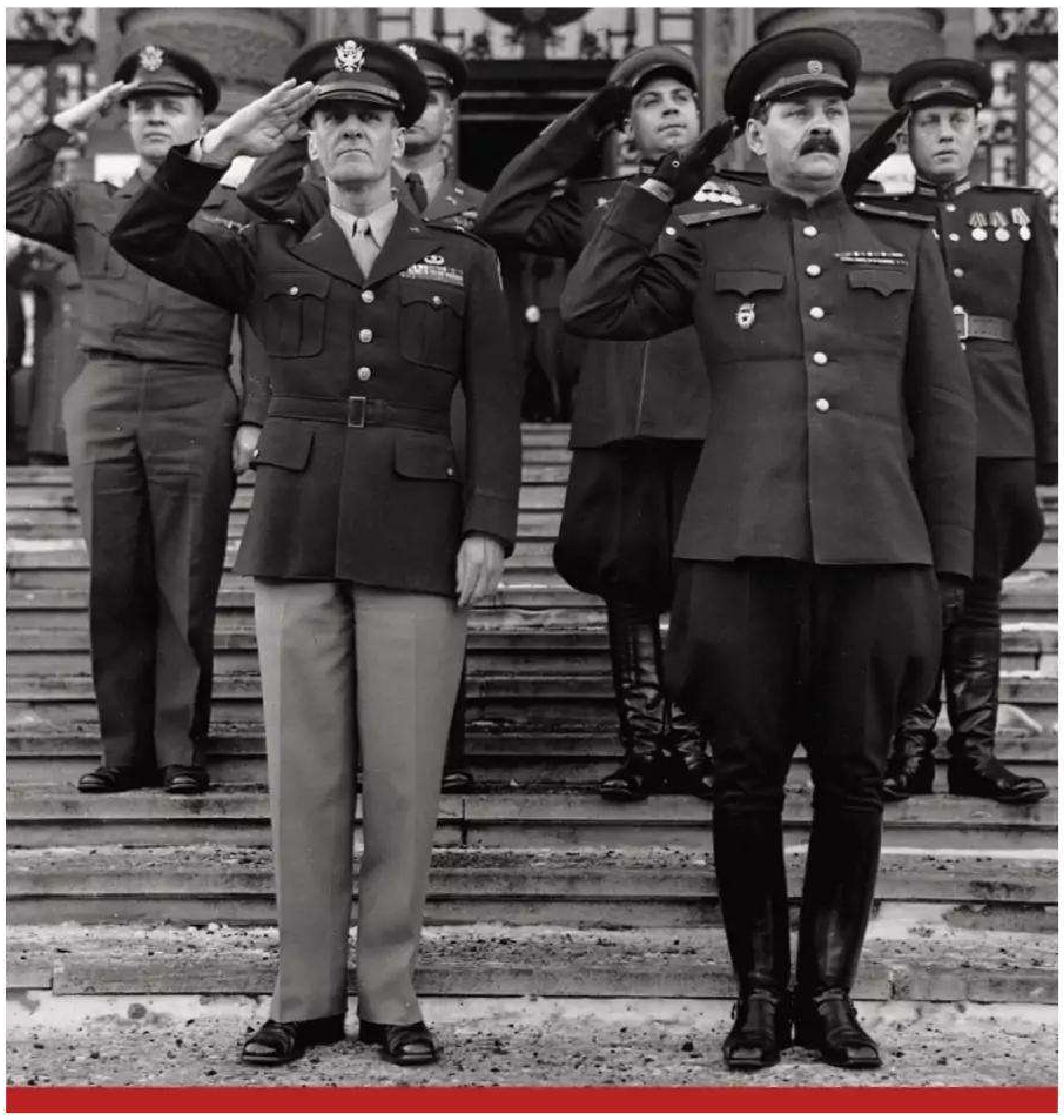
A real SMERSH agent, Nikolai Khokhlov, defected to the West in 1954. At the time his defection was something of a scandal as he revealed how he had been ordered to kill Ukrainian nationalists. In particular, he detailed how he had murdered their leader George Okolovich in Frankfurt with a cyanide gas-gun concealed in a packet of cigarettes. Khokhlov was also able to provide detailed information regarding the NKVD's 9th section, at that time the most up-to-date unit whose role was to assassinate enemies of the Soviet Union.

The number of SMERSH operatives engaged in counter-intelligence seems to vary wildly. Stephen's previously mentioned article states that some "7,000-8,000 Soviet military counter-intelligence officers were engaged in or supported the running of agents against German intelligence services operating on the Eastern Front." However, Bernstein puts the number at 18-20,000. Primarily, it seems that their focus was identifying and eliminating German intelligence operations within the ranks of the Red Army itself.

A US Army intelligence report listed a variety of duties performed by SMERSH operatives, including "discover and prevent all counter-revolutionary tendencies and observe all counter-revolutionary elements", "execute and supervise 'special measures' behind Soviet lines to prevent retreat and desertion" and "expose Russian traitors who collaborated with the enemy during the occupation of Soviet territory."

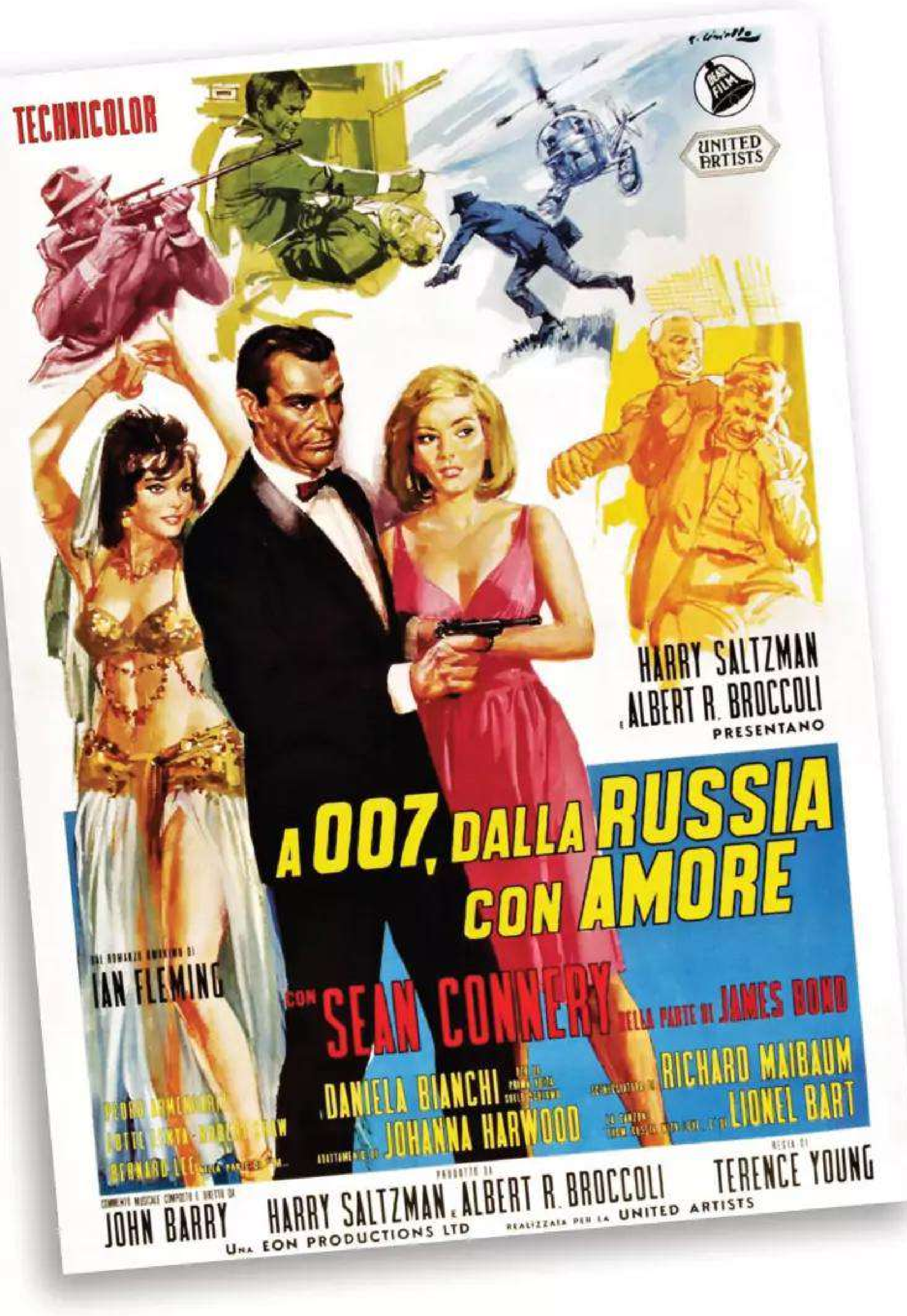
SMERSH's reputation for dealing with traitors and saboteurs within the ranks of the Red Army was brutal. The organisation claimed to have neutralised some 30,000 agents and 3,500 saboteurs, but how many of these were actually Nazi agents has been doubted. In fact, as the above directive states, SMERSH was just as involved in tracking down deserters and those critical of Soviet high command as they were chasing spies. Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, who would later pen novels such as *One Day In The Life Of Ivan Denisovich* and *The Gulag Archipelago* would find himself in a Gulag as a result of SMERSH reading his letters in which he dared to criticise Stalin.

Perhaps most telling, however, were the SMERSH directives that stated, "root out foreign agents within the military as well as the civilian population that comes into contact with troops," and then "interrogate agents to exploit their knowledge about foreign intelligence services." Along with this their counter-intelligence tasks appear to be relatively standard work for agents of this nature, such as obtaining information on enemy agents, planting false intelligence to mislead other services (such as sending SMERSH agent Alexander Koslov to the German intelligence school to spread misinformation), using undercover operatives and spying upon their own – especially those deemed to be unreliable. SMERSH was particularly adept at recruiting captured German operatives to become double agents, simultaneously distributing false information to the German high command and gathering intelligence for the Kremlin. Supposedly, SMERSH officers were even responsible for the security of Stalin himself.



2x © Getty Images

ABOVE Viktor Abakumov (right) pictured shortly before he 'disappeared' in 1951



LEFT Italian film poster for *From Russia With Love*, one of the two Bond films that feature SMERSH

Following the end of World War II, SMERSH became involved in some of the less-savoury activities of the Allies, namely the repatriation of the Cossacks and other Tsarist loyalists by Britain. Perhaps the greatest prize for SMERSH among the 45,000 individuals forcibly sent to the Soviet Union was General Pyotr Nikolayevich Krasnov. An officer of the Imperial Russian Army and leader of the anti-Bolshevik forces during the Civil War of 1917-1922, Krasnov had long evaded capture. During World War II he had supported Nazi Germany, before being captured in Austria. Following the war's end, Krasnov was delivered, along with other Cossacks, by the British into Soviet hands. Flown directly to Moscow, senior officers of SMERSH reportedly travelled miles just to see him board his plane. Once back in Russia he was interrogated and imprisoned before finally being hanged at the age of 78. Interestingly, though not utilised by Ian Fleming, the repatriation of the Cossacks would be a key plot point in the 1995 James Bond film *Goldeneye*.

SMERSH's other post-war work focussed on the systematic hunting down and killing of Nazi sympathisers throughout Eastern Europe. Networks of agents were formed in the Ukraine, Poland and the Baltic republics to seek out individuals who still had an allegiance to the Third Reich. SMERSH was also heavily involved in crushing any resistance to Soviet rule, namely partisan groups that existed in these countries. One particular operation took place in Poland in the summer of 1944. During the German occupation the partisan movement The Council for National Unity had been formed and as a result of the Yalta accords had agreed to negotiate directly with the Soviet Union. Arranging to meet with the NKVD's Poland chief Ivan Serov (a high-ranking officer who would later become the first head of the KGB) the group were immediately arrested. Among their number (16 over all) were the deputy prime minister and three of his assistants. Soviet intelligence operations in Poland would continue for some time after the end of the war and into the early 1950s, and included interfering in the June 1946 referendum and the 1947 election. Thousands of arrests were also made. Indeed, in 1947 SMERSH's replacement, the Third Directorate, placed 32,800 individuals in jail in that year alone.

> "THE ORGANISATION CLAIMS TO HAVE NEUTRALISED SOME 30,000 AGENTS AND 3,500 SABOTEURS"

Why was SMERSH no longer handling these operations? In 1946, the organisation that preached 'death to spies' had undergone a death of its own: it was officially disbanded and all duties transferred over to the Ministry For State Security. The organisation itself was absorbed into the aforementioned Third Directorate, which might help explain their use of similar tactics during the campaign against Polish partisan groups. Following the death of Stalin, this organisation would finally be reorganised in 1953.

And what of Abakumov, SMERSH'S brutal and sinister chief? In the later years of Stalin's regime, Abakumov's past began to catch up with him. In 1949 he had been a key component of the 'Leningrad affair' and in 1951 Stalin had him arrested in conjunction with the so-called 'Doctors' Plot'. Viewed as the culmination of Stalin's anti-Semitic campaign (as well as yet another means of consolidating his power) it involved the Soviet leader accusing a group of Jewish doctors as well as Abakumov of poisoning Andrei Zhdanov (a respected Soviet leader). Following Stalin's death in 1953, his successors tried Abakumov for his role in the Leningrad affair, a vast and vicious purging of high-ranking party and government officials in the Leningrad area, and he was executed.

A 1955 CIA report explored the many issues surrounding Abakumov's execution and the contradictions in his trial. The report concluded: "Abakumov had been arrested and was shot at the present time because, as minister of the MGB, he was the most efficient and intelligent one in the history of the USSR. He was shot because he had free access to Stalin, because he had audio-surveillance put on the houses of all the members of the Politburo and all marshals of the Soviet Union. As a result, Abakumov was well acquainted with all the doings of the Communist Party and therefore had become the worst enemy of its leaders."

However, as to be expected, the report is somewhat anti-USSR and some of its conclusions and statements have to be taken with a pinch of salt. For example, when discussing the stance that Soviet media and propaganda had taken on Abakumov's death and the public reaction it stated: "The majority of the Soviet Union don't believe what is in the papers. They've been so flooded with propaganda that they no longer pay any attention to it. The newspapers are useful for only a few things, such as wrapping fish."

Today, like much of intelligence history, there is still much that remains unknown about SMERSH, its agents and many secret operations. The murky world of Soviet espionage in WWII and the period immediately following still has many secrets waiting to be uncovered. Today, SMERSH is still perhaps best-known as one of the nemeses of James Bond, and the consistently reprinted and reread Fleming novels keep the organisation (albeit in fictional form) alive. ○

BELOW-LEFT
Communal grave of unclaimed ashes number three, where individuals executed secretly by the NKVD were interred. Pyotr Krasnov is suspected to be among their number

BELOW
Soviet dictator Joseph Stalin, who Viktor Abakumov reported to directly

© Alamy

Image source: wiki/ National Library of Congress

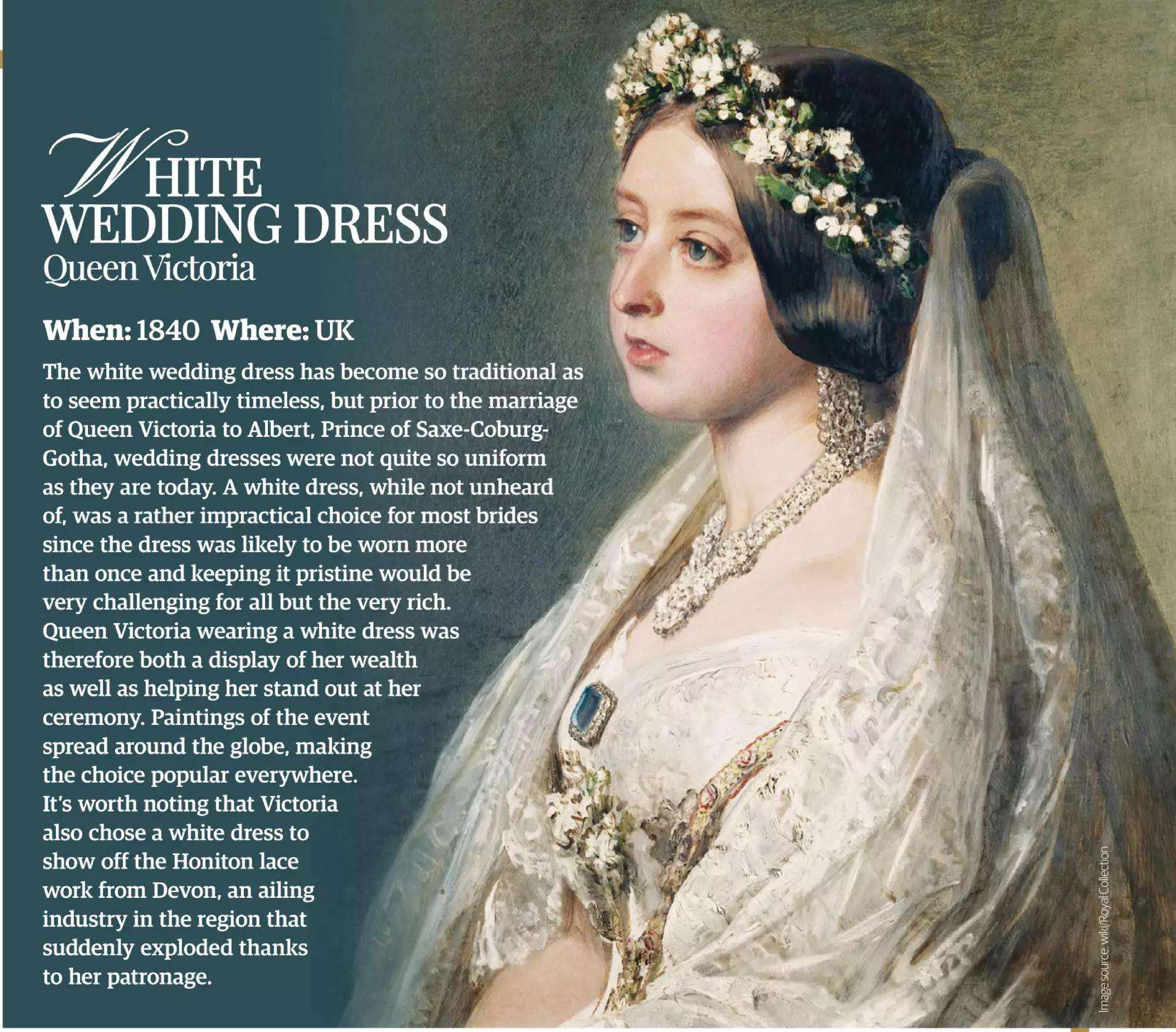
20 ROYAL FASHION TRENDS

The sartorial crazes that swept around the world and the royal figures who helped to make them a sensation

Written by
Jonathan Gordon

© Getty Images

Before the age of style magazines and entire industries dedicated to clothing trends, many ambitious people looked to the world's most powerful figures and emulated their clothing decisions to curry favour. As mass media opened up these styles to wider public consumption, so the importance of royal fashion became of as much interest to the average person on the street as it had once been to courtiers. To this day, perhaps more as celebrities than as royals, those with a connection to the great dynasties of the world have huge sway over what clothes and looks are hot in the moment. Here, we'll take a look back at 20 examples of fashion trends kick-started by royal association.



WHITE WEDDING DRESS

Queen Victoria

When: 1840 **Where:** UK

The white wedding dress has become so traditional as to seem practically timeless, but prior to the marriage of Queen Victoria to Albert, Prince of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, wedding dresses were not quite so uniform as they are today. A white dress, while not unheard of, was a rather impractical choice for most brides since the dress was likely to be worn more than once and keeping it pristine would be very challenging for all but the very rich. Queen Victoria wearing a white dress was therefore both a display of her wealth as well as helping her stand out at her ceremony. Paintings of the event spread around the globe, making the choice popular everywhere. It's worth noting that Victoria also chose a white dress to show off the Honiton lace work from Devon, an ailing industry in the region that suddenly exploded thanks to her patronage.

Image source: wiki/Royal Collection

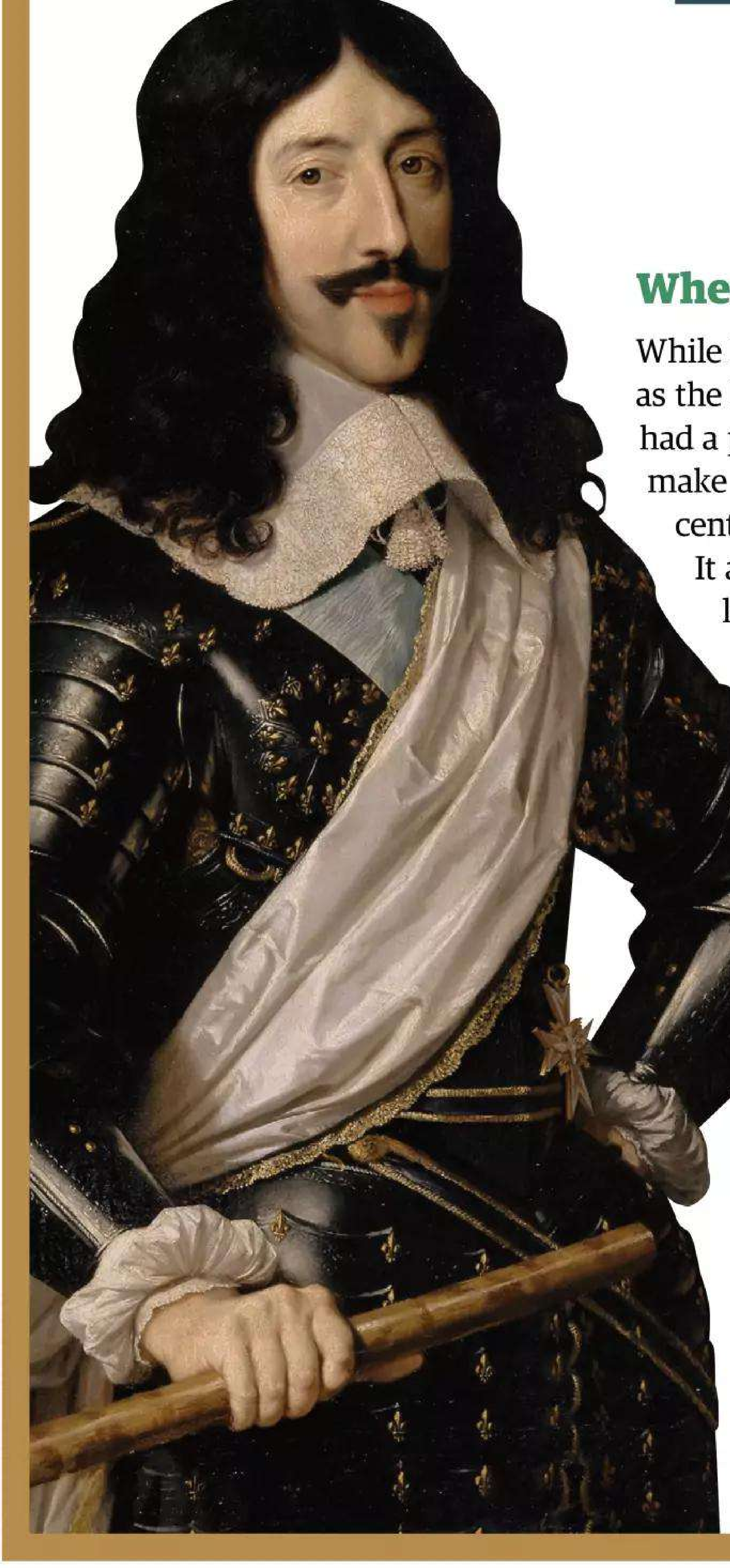


Image source: wiki/Museo del Prado

LONG WIGS

Louis XIII

When: 1624 **Where:** France

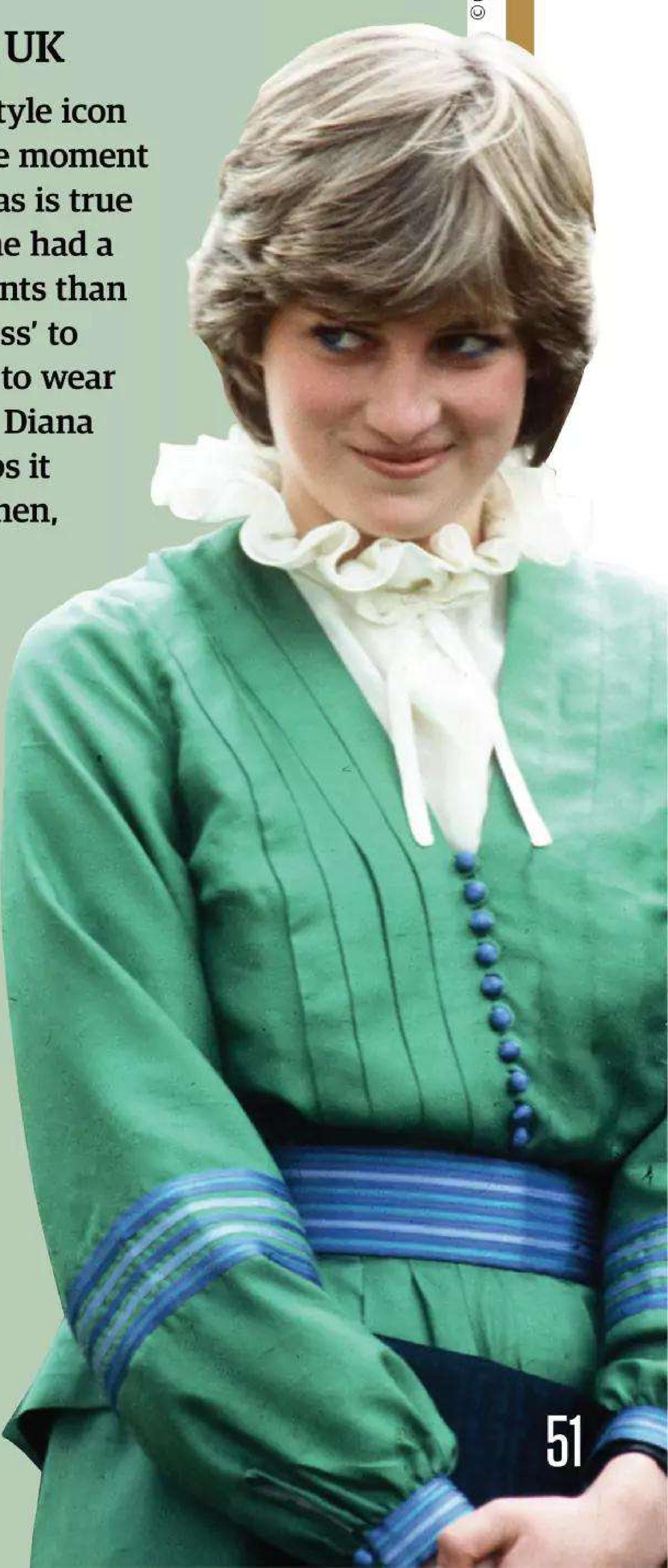
While his son would go down in history as the bigger fashion-icon, Louis XIII had a pretty significant contribution to make to the sartorial norms of the 17th century when he began to wear a wig. It all started with the king having long, natural hair in his youth, of which he was very proud. But as he began to go bald in his early 20s he turned to wearing a wig to maintain his image, and the court wasn't far behind him. In the years that followed, men wearing long wigs became the fashion in French high society and gradually began to disseminate through the lower stratas of the kingdom. The wearing of a wig began to infer social status and authority, in emulation of the king, and even merchants and street vendors might be expected to don a wig when dealing with the public.

PIE-CRUST COLLAR

Diana, Princess of Wales

When: 1980s **Where:** UK

Princess Diana's place as a style icon was more or less secured the moment she became a public figure, as is true of most royal women, but she had a fair few more fashion moments than most. From the 'revenge dress' to being the first royal woman to wear trousers to an official event, Diana was groundbreaking. Perhaps it will be surprising to learn, then, that probably her biggest fashion contribution was the humble pie-crust collar. A style that came out of the 1970s, but a favourite blouse style of Diana's in the early 80s, the pie-crust collar has more than a little of the classic ruff about it, evoking royal portraits of the 16th and 17th century. Thanks to the princess the collar became very popular, and is a style that keeps coming back into vogue to this day.



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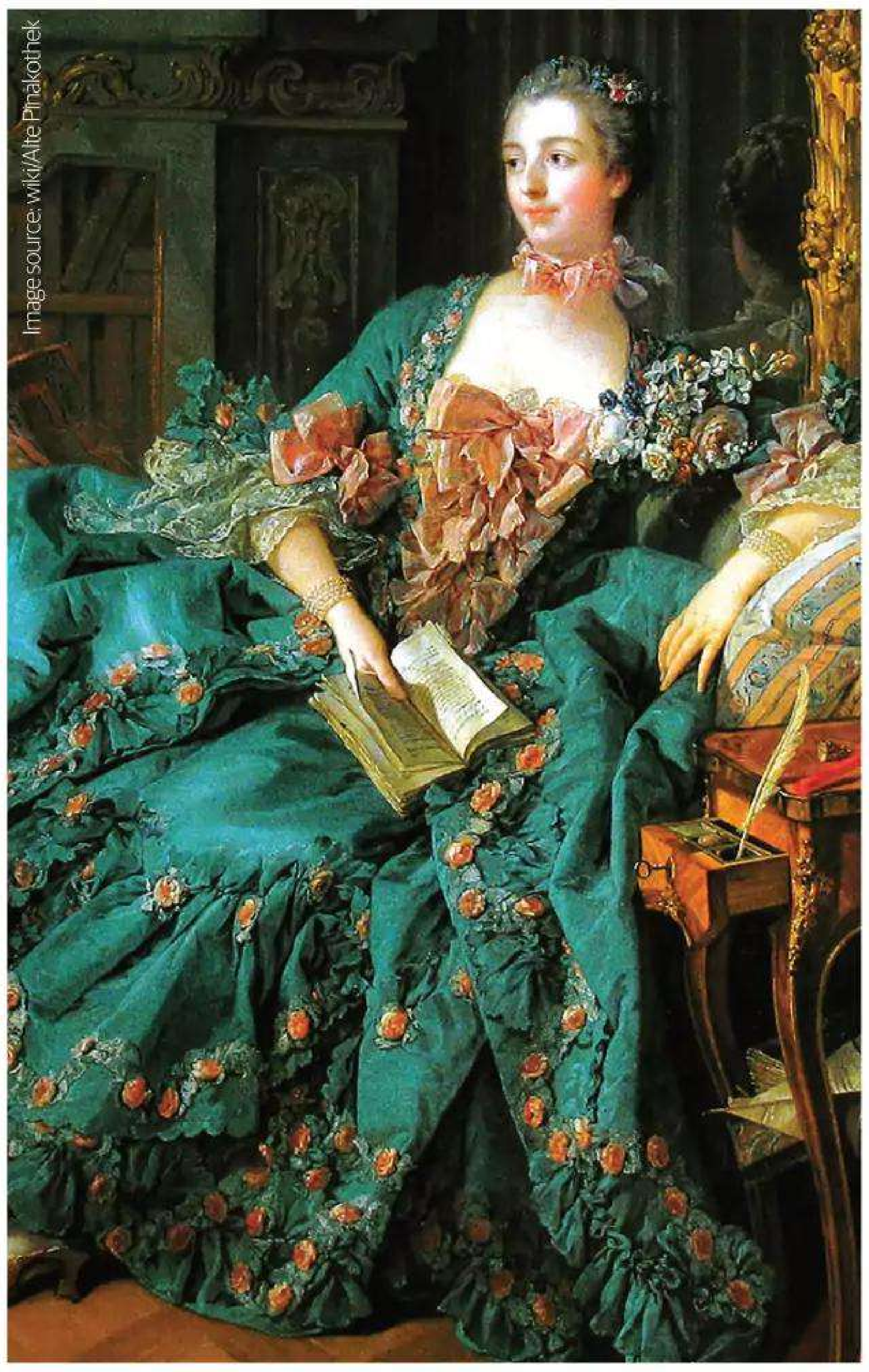


Image source: wiki/Alte Pinakothek

ROCOCO PIONEER
Madame de Pompadour

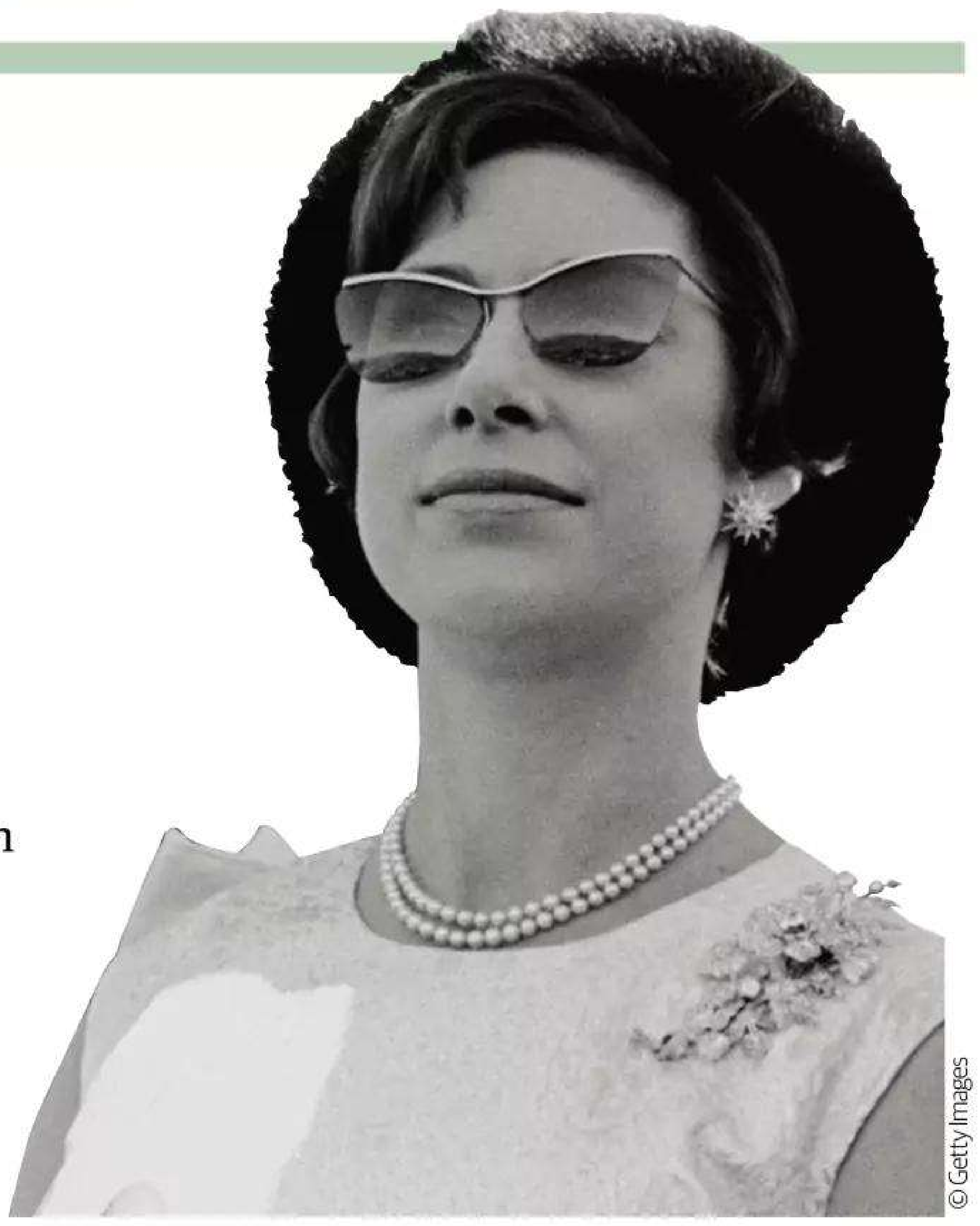
When: 1745
Where: France

As the mistress to Louis XIV, Madame de Pompadour (birth name Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson) sits slightly on the outskirts of royal acclaim, but her position made her just as influential as any blue-blooded princess. In particular her taste in floral, pastel dresses helped to push the Rococo style throughout the French court and to the wider European gentry in the mid-18th century.

CAT-EYE SUNGLASSES
Princess Margaret

When: 1950s **Where:** UK

An unquestionable fashion icon of her era, Princess Margaret was a pioneer among royal women with her sense of style that was more in keeping with a Hollywood star than a Windsor. And much like Audrey Hepburn and Elizabeth Taylor, her adoption of cat-eye sunglasses helped to propel the style into an international trend.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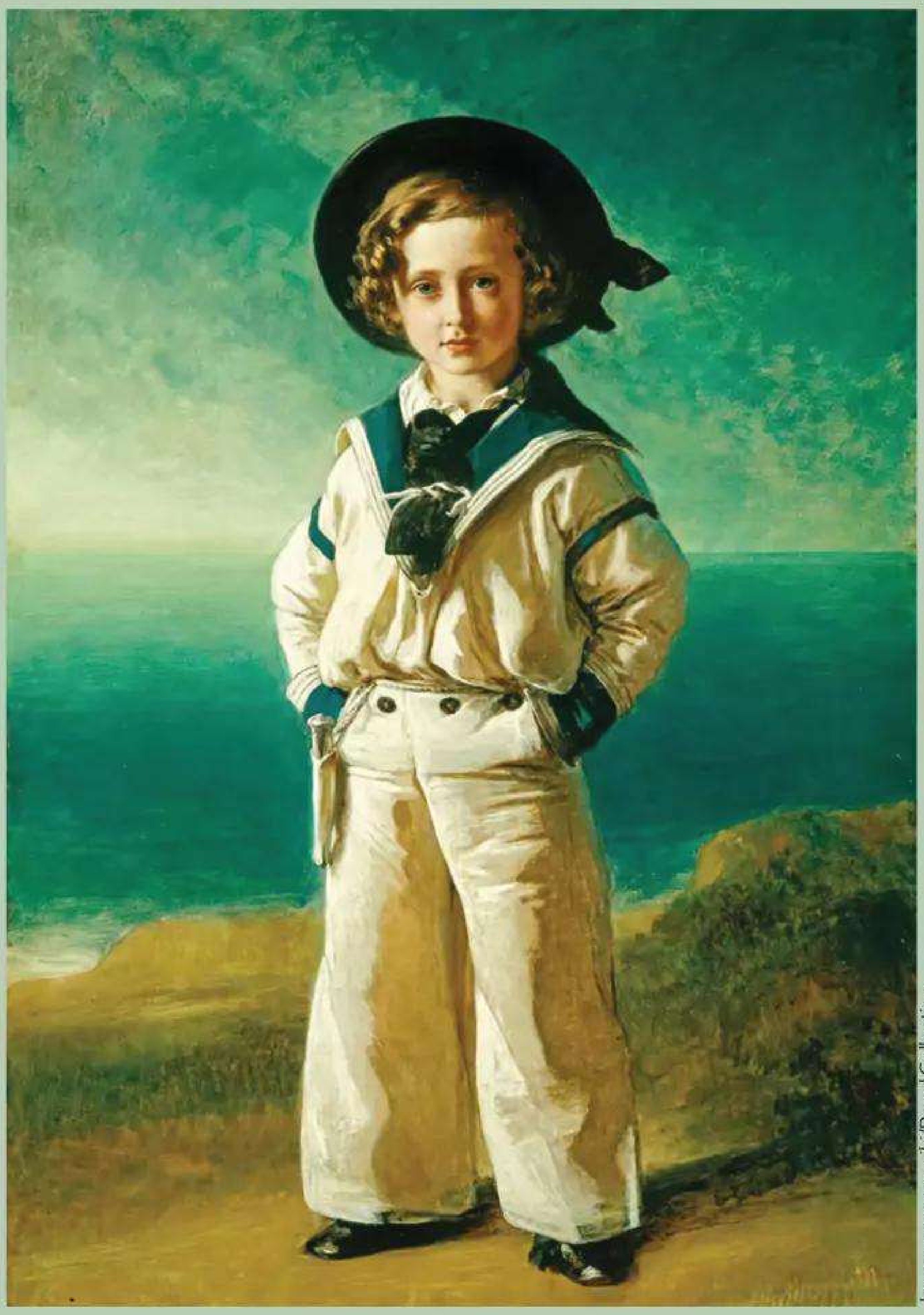


Image source: wiki/Royal Collection

KID'S SAILOR SUIT
Edward VII

When: 1846 **Where:** UK

When Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, stepped aboard the royal yacht in 1846 aged only four or five, he's unlikely to have expected his clothing would start a trend that stretches the world over even now. In actuality, while the future Edward VII was wearing the sailor suit that would become a phenomenon, it was Queen Victoria who made the choice for her son. She had commissioned the uniform from a navy tailor in the hopes of surprising her husband, Prince Albert, who loved it so much he had a painting ordered. Images of Edward in his outfit became incredibly popular, as did dressing up children in sailor outfits. In turn, the style started to be adopted as official school uniforms in some schools and began spreading across the empire. To this day, some schools in Japan still use a sailor outfit style for their uniforms.

TARTAN
Queen Victoria

When: 1852 **Where:** UK

When King George IV crossed into Scotland in 1822 he was the first British king to do so since Charles II, starting a close bond between the royals and Scotland. Victoria and Albert's love of the country was exemplified by their adoption of tartan in clothing, even creating their own Balmoral Tartan that's still worn by British royals.

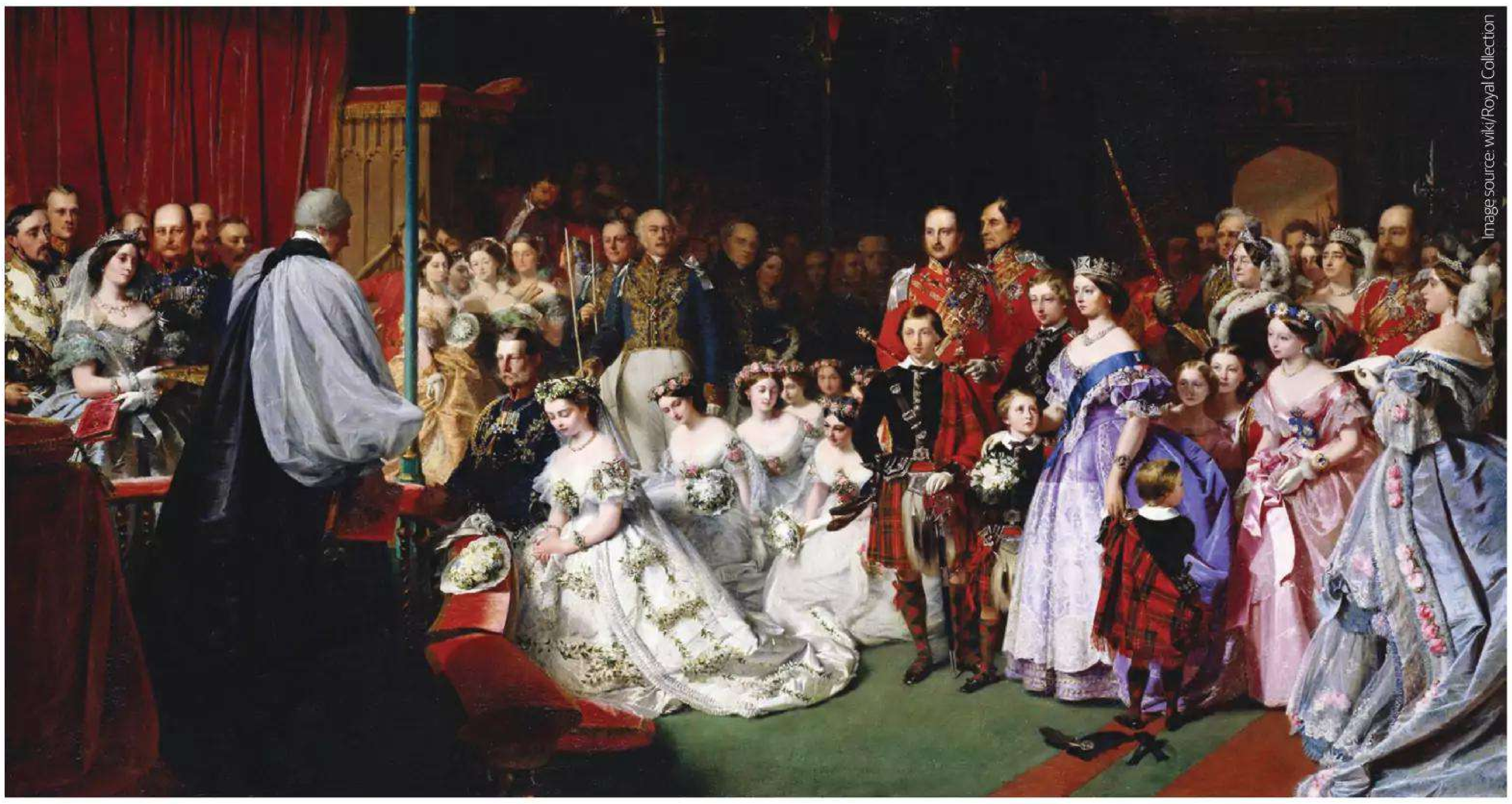
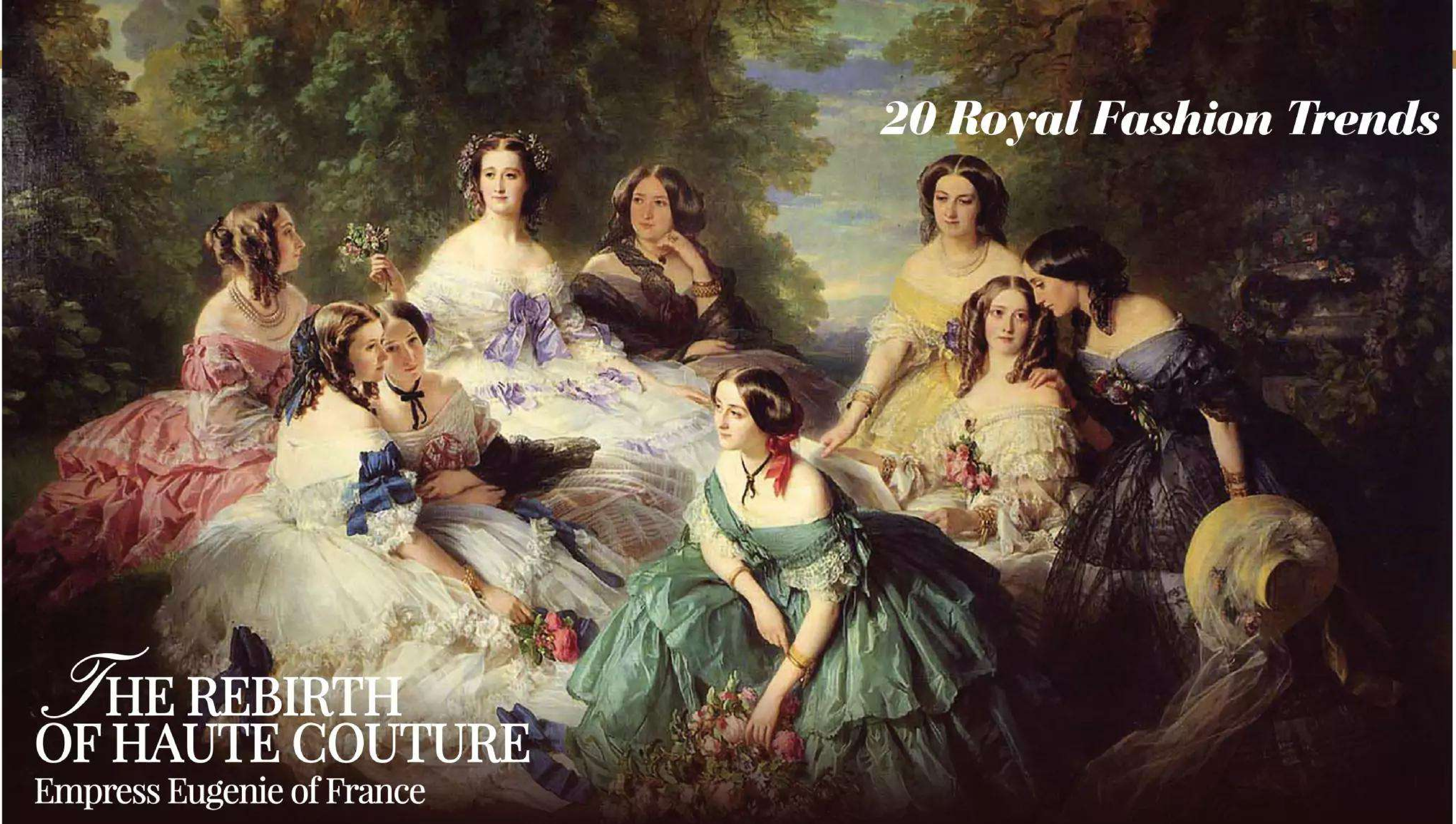


Image source: wiki/Royal Collection



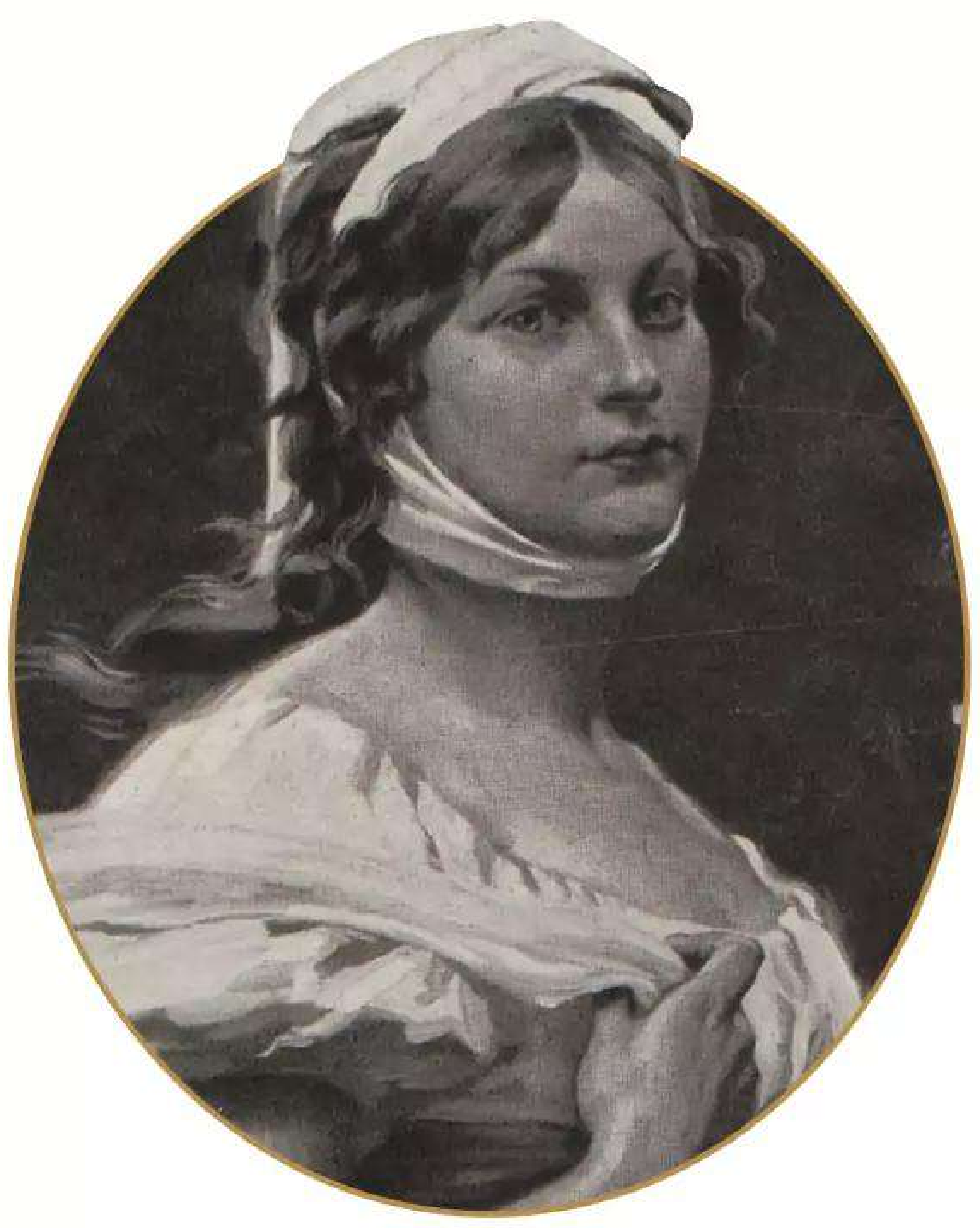
THE REBIRTH OF HAUTE COUTURE

Empress Eugenie of France

When: 1858 **Where:** France

While Marie Antoinette was pretty unpopular with the masses in her time (and for decades afterwards) there can be no denying her impact on French fashion, but the French Revolution put something of a pause on the excesses of the wealthy in France. By the mid-19th century tempers had cooled enough for Empress Eugenie, wife of Emperor Napoleon III, to pick up where her forebear had left off. Her right-hand man in this effort was Charles Frederick Worth, a designer from Lincolnshire, who worked with Eugenie to push daring new trends. First came massive skirts held up with crinoline, inspired by Marie Antoinette, then snug dresses with bustles. Each item was bespoke and handmade, helping to relaunch the French fashion industry and reignite the opulent haute couture styles that had fallen out of favour. In many ways high fashion has continued to ride this wave ever since.

Image source: wiki/Musée du Second Empire



CHIN SCARF

Queen Louise of Prussia

When: 1797 **Where:** Prussia

While Louise of Mecklenburg-Strelitz died tragically young at the age of 34, she managed to start the rather remarkable fashion trend of wearing scarves under the chin. It appears to have started with various portraits and a statue by Johann Gottfried Schadow where she wore a scarf to cover a swelling. The unusual look caught on for a short time.

Image source: wiki/Heidelberg University Library

A TINY WAIST

Empress Elisabeth of Austria

When: 1865 **Where:** Austria

Empress Sisi was one of the great royal celebrities of her time, renowned for her stunning dresses, very long hair and a stringent exercise and dieting regime. In actuality, it's believed she suffered from anorexia, which would account for her tiny 50cm waist, made smaller still in a corset that set off a trend for extreme waistlines across Europe.

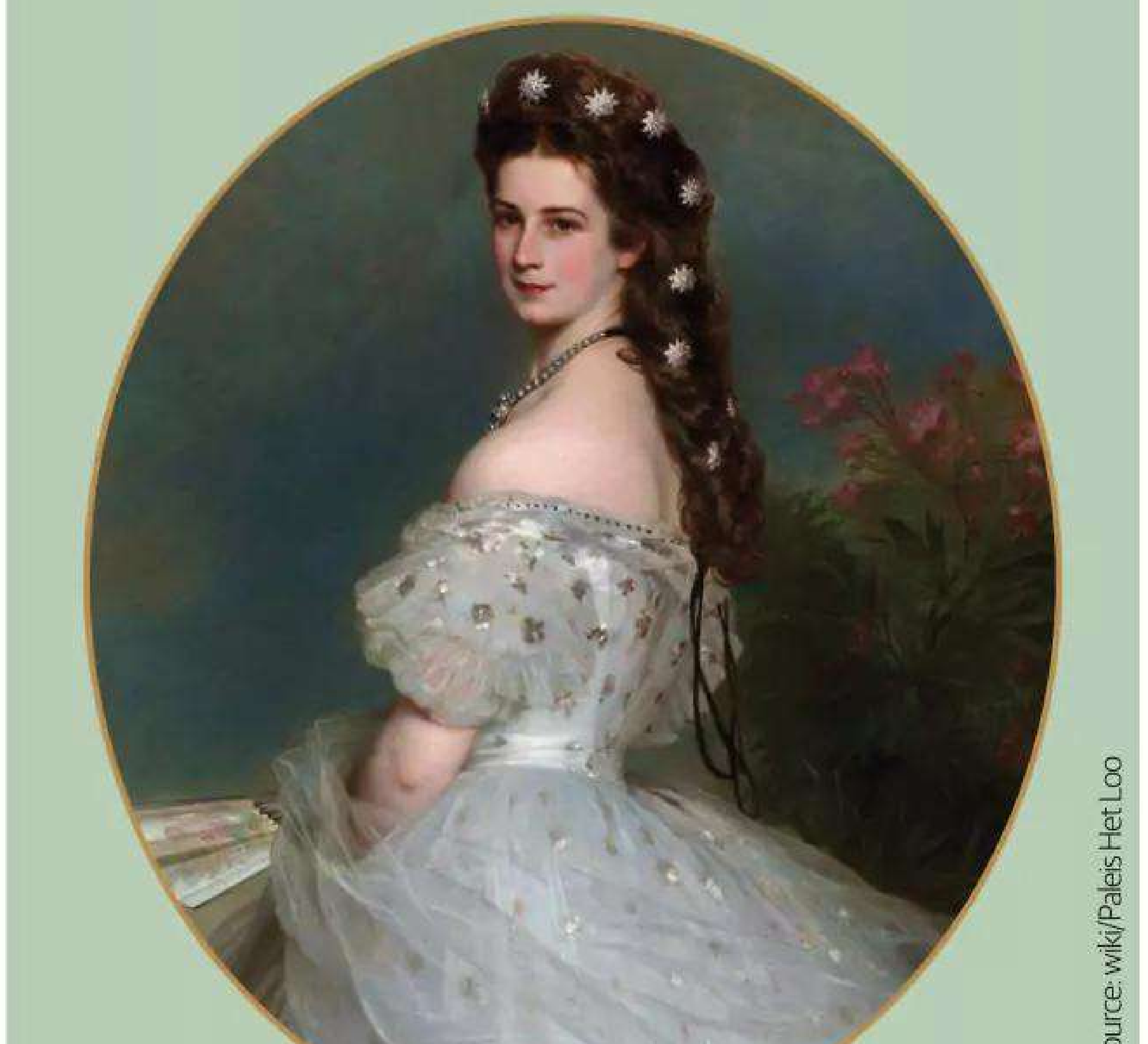
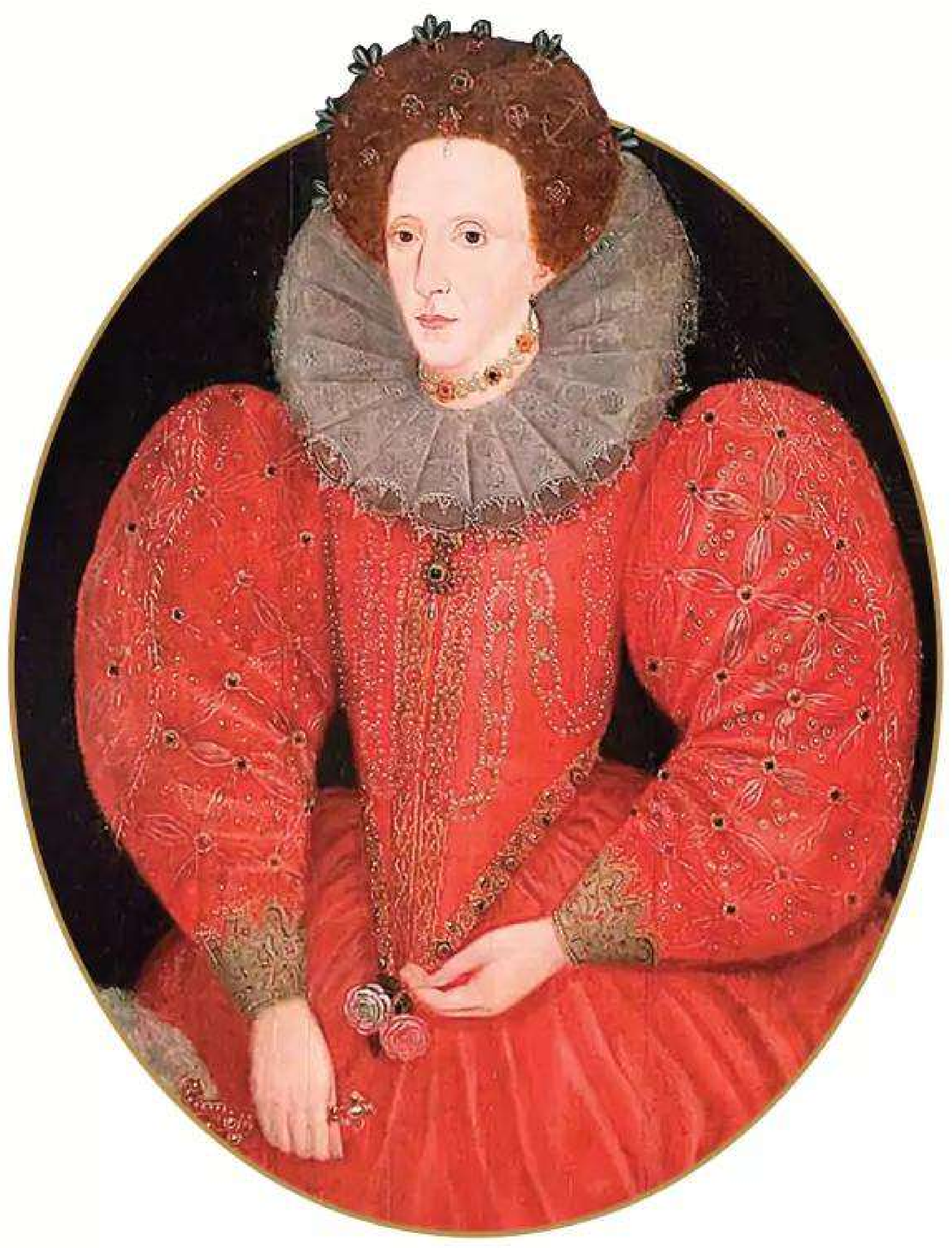


Image source: wiki/Paleis Het Loo



WIDE DRESSES

Elizabeth I

When: 1574 **Where:** England

In passing the Sumptuary Statutes Elizabeth set some curbs on the dress of various strata of society, at court in particular, but she still led the way for major trends. Her red hair and stark makeup became popular, but one particular trend was the ever-widening skirts on her dresses, made possible by hip bolsters.

Image source: wiki/Lucas de Heere

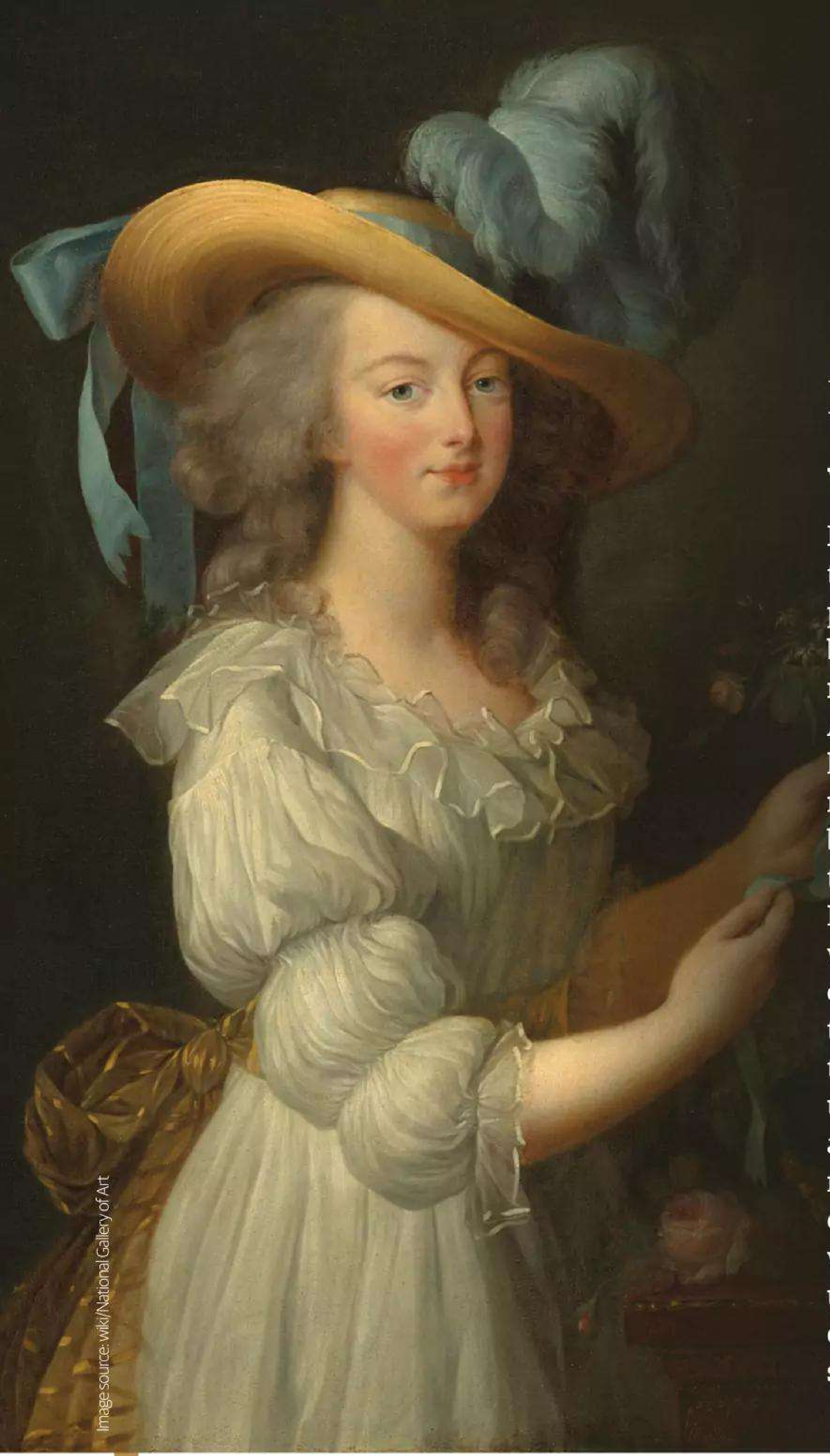


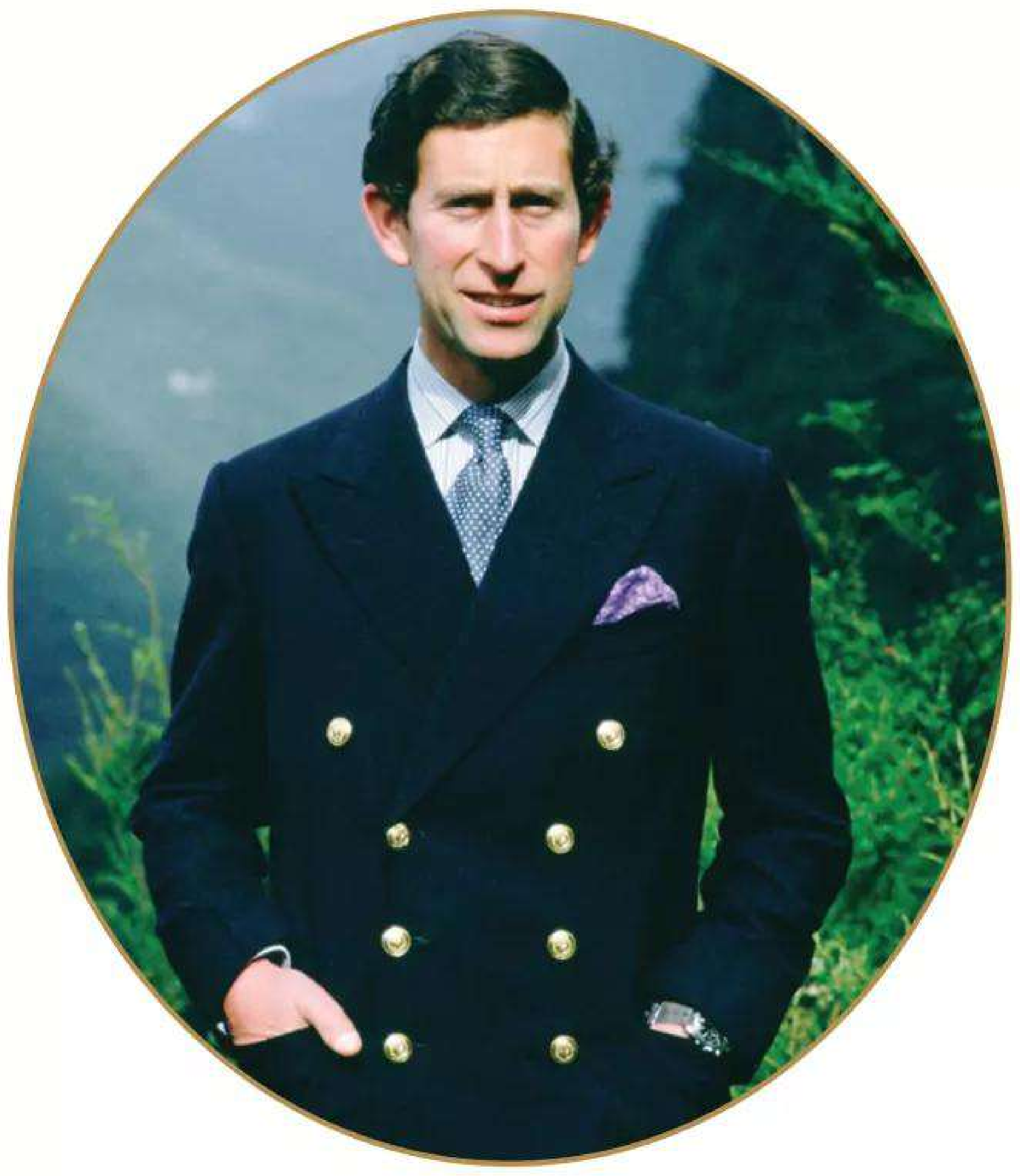
Image source: wiki/National Gallery of Art

NO CORSET

Marie Antoinette

When: 1783 **Where:** France

It says something about the relationship that Marie Antoinette had with the people of France that in moments of both extravagance and humility she managed to outrage the populace. The Austrian princess was well known for her lavish fashions and expensive tastes, much of which was likely exaggerated by a growing republican movement to turn the people against the monarchy. However, it was a painting of Marie wearing a simple cotton dress that caused a sensation. Forgoing a corset that was common at the time, many took the image to be of her in her underwear, leading to it being called a chemise a la reine. In using cotton rather than silk, she was also accused of damaging the French fabric industry. It was scandalous at the time, but would usher in a new trend not long after her death as the Georgian and Victorian eras saw the rise of chemise dresses.

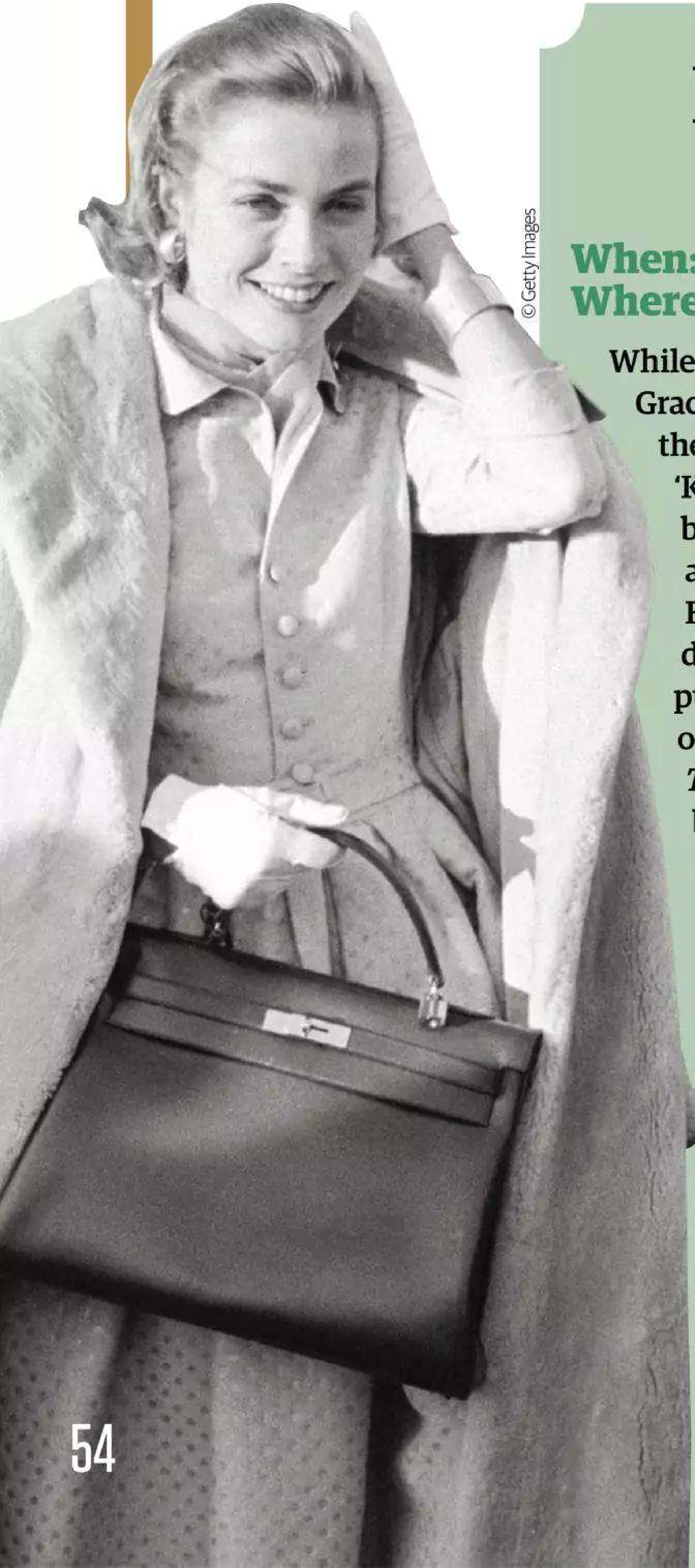

© Getty Images

DOUBLE-BREASTED SUIT

Charles, Prince of Wales

When: 1980s **Where:** UK

Perhaps enjoying some of the limelight that marriage to Diana gave him, Prince Charles' fashion choices were often influential in their own right. A notable example is his preference for double-breasted blazers, which massively increased in popularity at the height of his and Diana's popularity together.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KELLY BAG

Grace Kelly

When: 1956
Where: Monaco

While Princess Grace of Monaco, aka Grace Kelly, should take most of the credit for the popularity of the 'Kelly Bag', some credit ought to be handed to Alfred Hitchcock and the costume designer Edith Head as well. The celebrated film director gave approval for Head to purchase accessories from Hermés of Paris for the film *To Catch A Thief*, and one of the items she bought was a Haut à Courroies bag costing over £3,000. Kelly not only loved the bag on set, she started using it all the time. She made the bag famous when she used it to screen herself against photographers after her marriage to Rainier III, Prince of Monaco. The bag's popularity exploded to such an extent that Hermés renamed it the Kelly Bag in her honour.

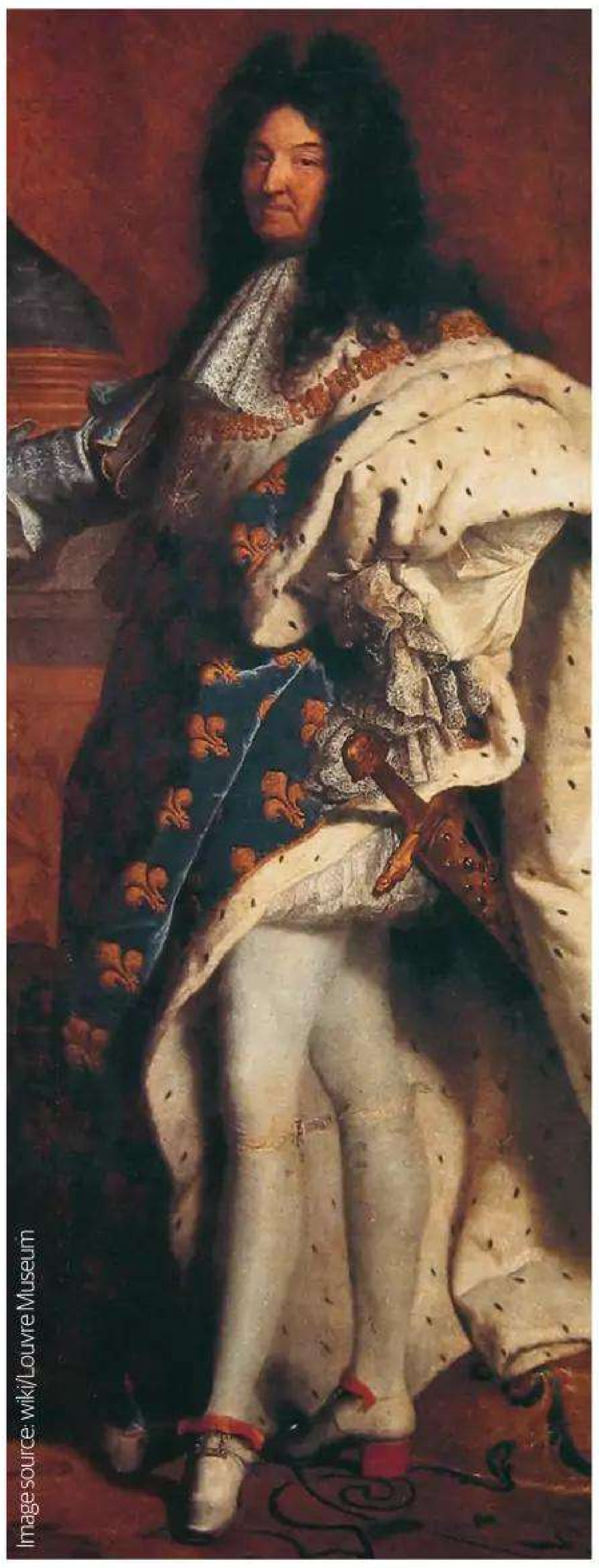


Image source: wiki/Louvre Museum

RED HIGH HEELS

Louis XIV

When: 1660s
Where: France

When Louis XIV ascended the throne in 1643 it was not uncommon for men to wear shoes with very large heels. Charles II, for instance, was known to wear them, making his 1.85-metre stature all the more impressive. For Louis, however, the heel was a little more important to him. Standing 1.63-metres tall, he was sensitive about his height and wanted to appear more imposing by wearing a 10cm heel. To accentuate the point, he would have the heel and sole dyed red, which was an expensive colour to use in the 1660s. A king's fashions tend to cause a trend, but Louis made red heels even more exclusive when he passed an edict limiting their use to members of the court. Now, the red heel for men was not only fashionable but also a great status symbol.

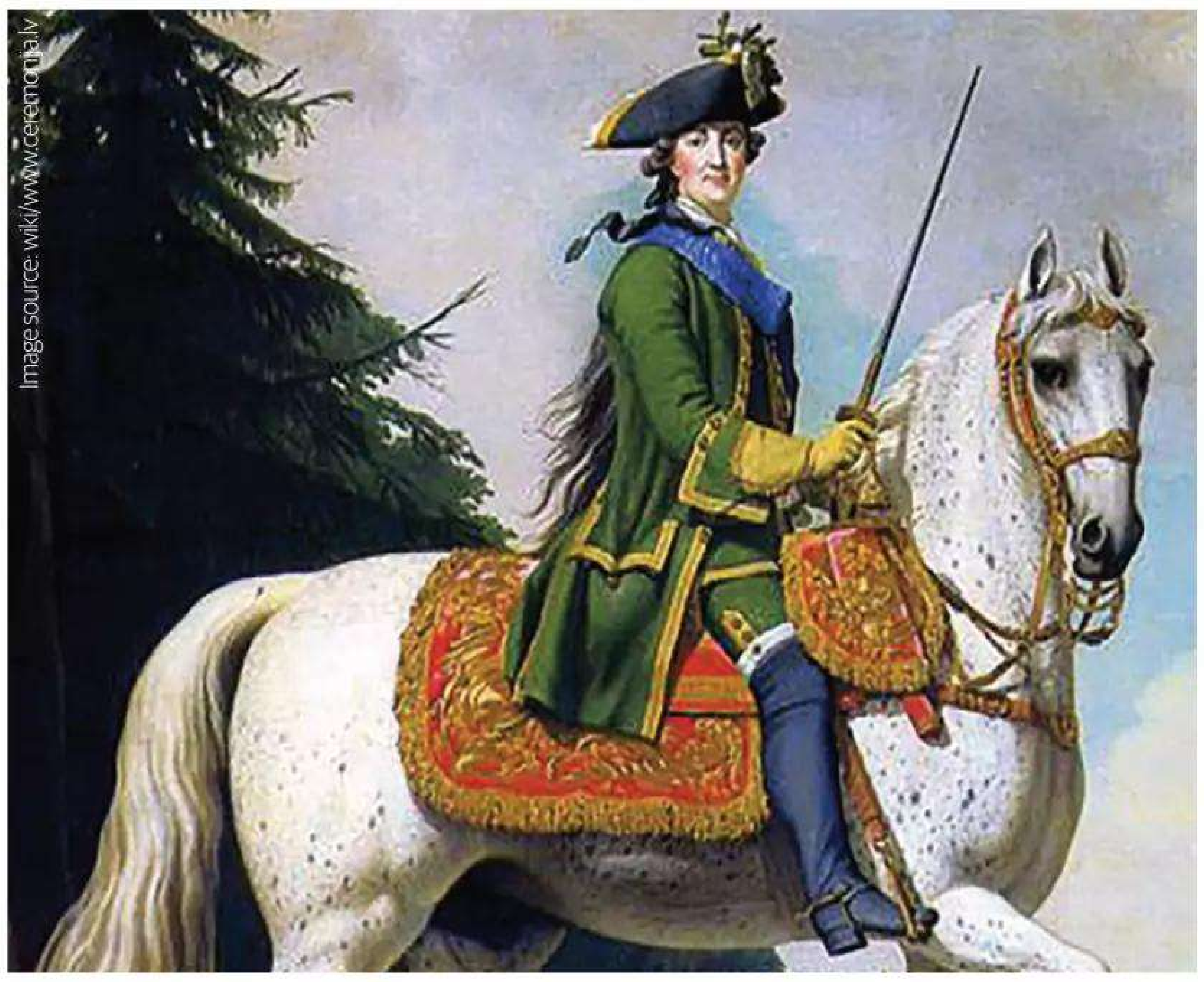


Image source: wiki/www.ceremonia.lv

EMPRESS STYLE

Catherine The Great

When: 1762 **Where:** Russia

As the soon-to-be Catherine the Great prepared to instigate the overthrow of her husband Peter III, she put on the uniform of Captain Alexander Talyzin, a member of the Life Guards Semionovsky Regiment. This was the old uniform that had existed since Peter the Great and had been replaced by Peter III for something more Prussian in style. It was a signal to the military that she was with them in their distaste for Peter's Prussian leanings, despite being from Prussia herself. The coup was a success, she became empress of Russia, and from then on would incorporate elements of traditional Russian dress and uniform dresses into her wardrobe to reaffirm her dedication to her adopted land.

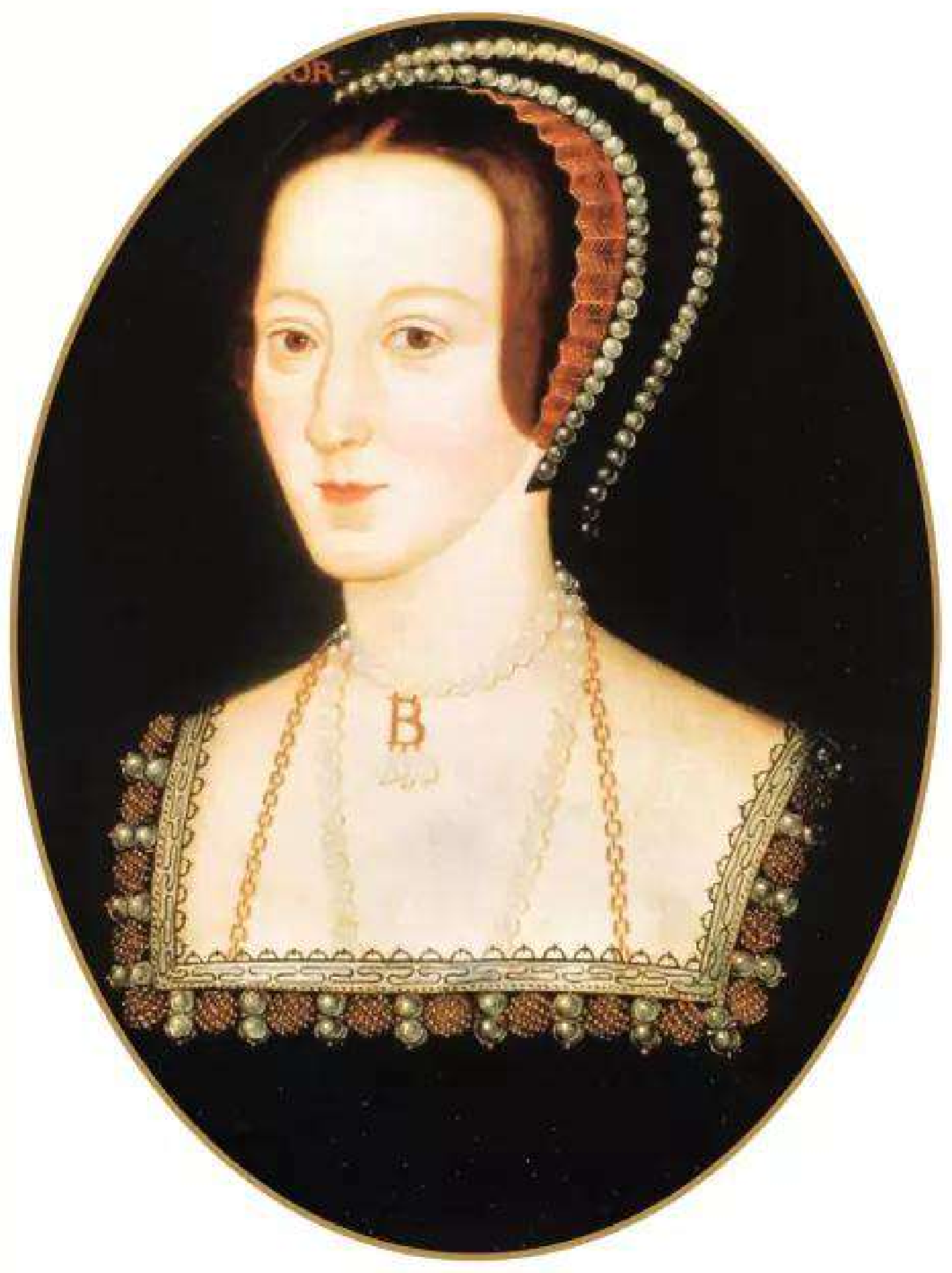
LEISURE WEAR

Edward VIII

When: 1920s **Where:** UK

Few royal men have had as much of an impact on national fashions as the then-Prince of Wales did during the 1920s. From early on he advocated for what he called "dress soft" clothing, putting comfort ahead of the more formal attire usually favoured by members of the royal family. What this meant in reality was that he adopted the era's move towards leisure wear, or sports casual, such as heavily patterned sports coats. The prince's enthusiasm for these more informal fashions had a massive impact on the nation. While the prince himself was not always well liked by the people (less so after his abdication from the throne in 1936), his sense of style was always closely followed and imitated by those who could access the same Savile Row tailors as he could. Edward essentially established the place of 'smart casual' in every man's wardrobe from then on.

Image source: wiki/El Gráfico



FRENCH HOOD

Anne Boleyn

When: 1520s
Where: England

Prior to Anne Boleyn's arrival in Henry VIII's court, the fashion for women had been to wear a gable hood (early portraits even depict her wearing one). But as her influence grew she brought the French Hood into vogue, with its rounder, softer design. Interestingly, upon her death the gable began to be used again.

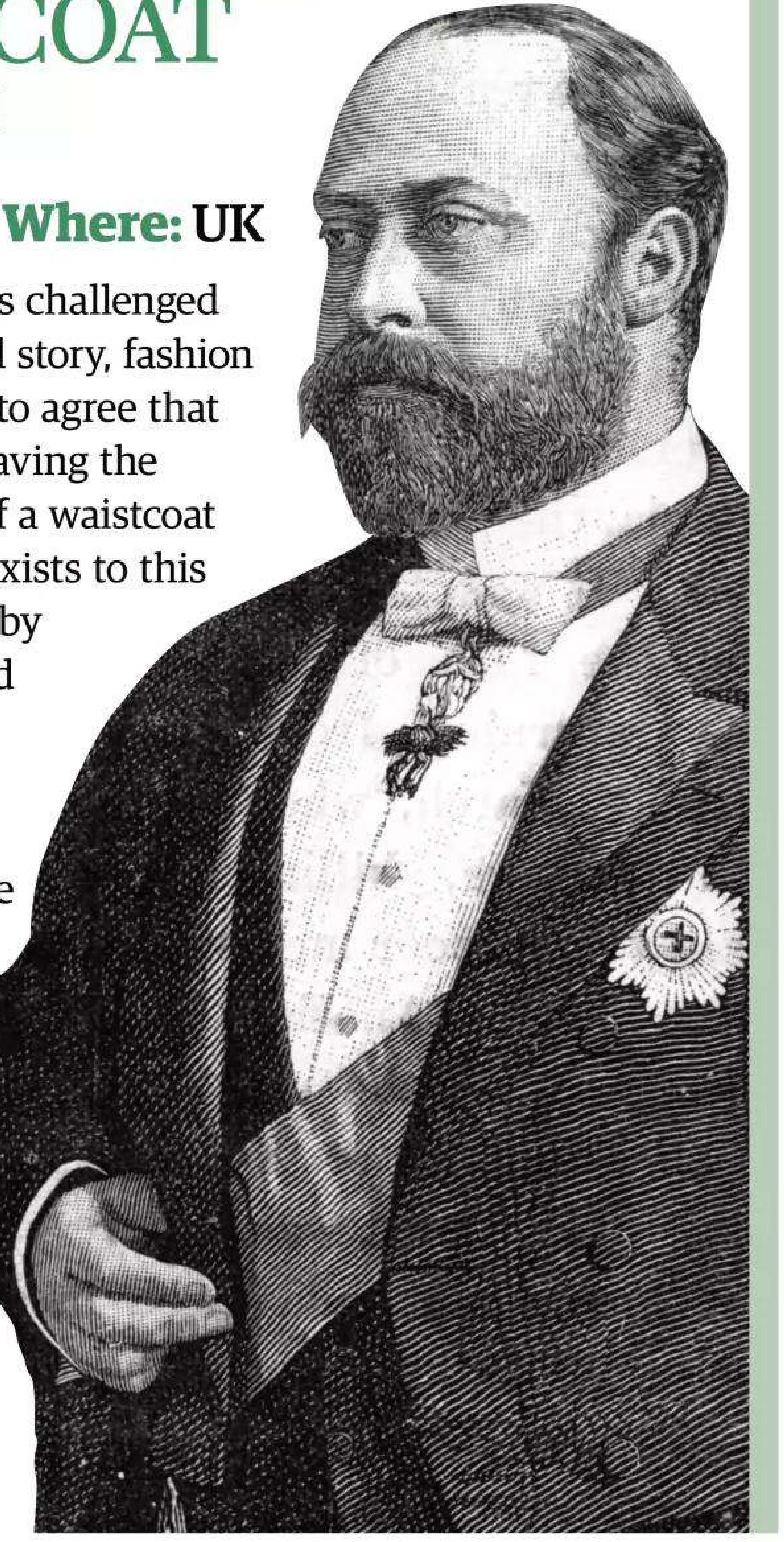
Image source: wiki/National Portrait Gallery

UNBUTTONED WAISTCOAT

Edward VII

When: 1901 **Where:** UK

While sometimes challenged as an apocryphal story, fashion historians seem to agree that the custom of leaving the bottom button of a waistcoat undone, which exists to this day, was started by Edward VII. Fond of a waistcoat, his increasing waistline is supposed to have influenced his choice, which quickly caught on as a trend.



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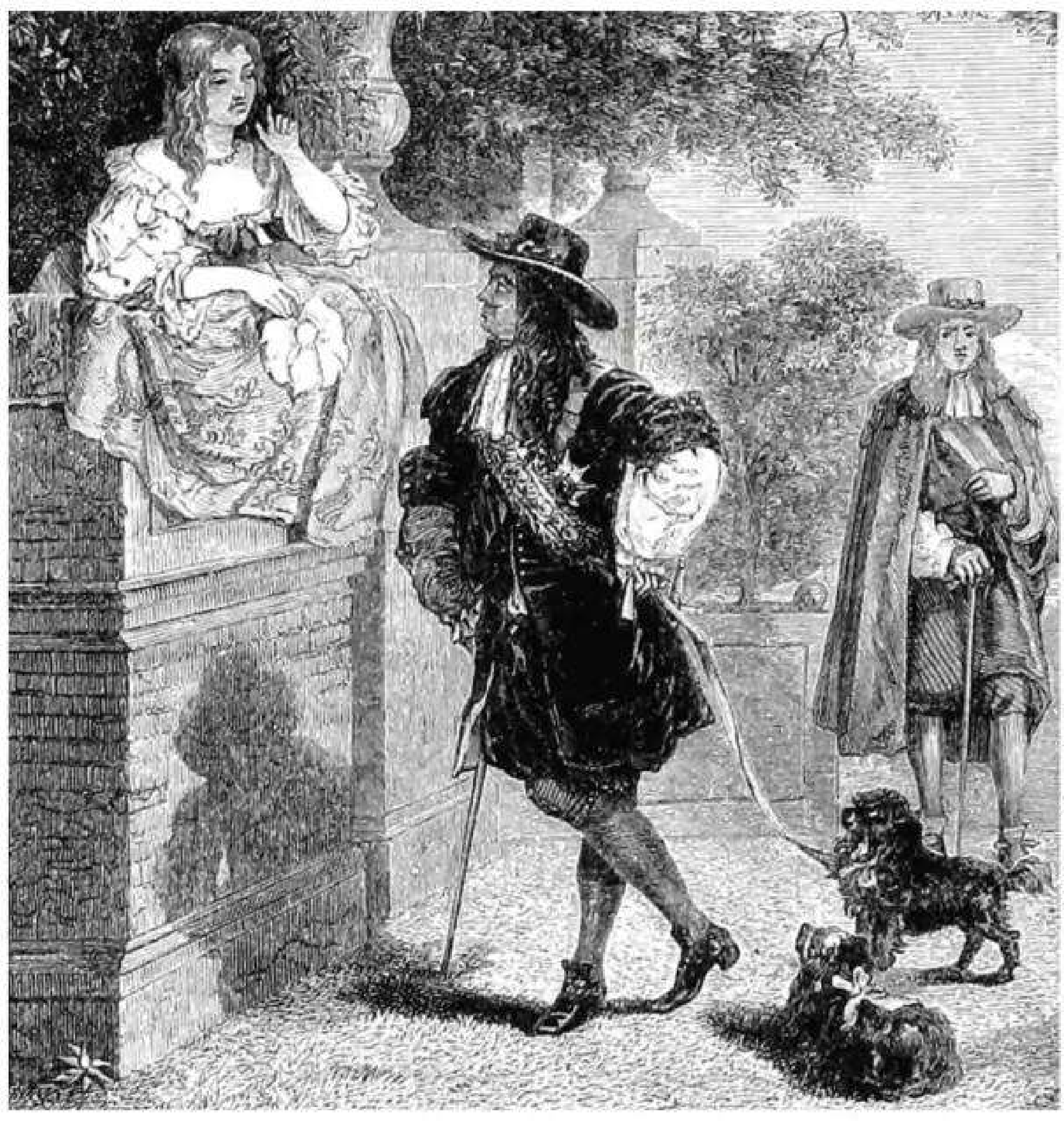

Image source: wiki/Peter Cunningham

THREE-PIECE SUIT

Charles II

When: 1666 **Where:** England

Abandoning French fashion, Charles II declared that his court would be adopting what was known as the Persian vest, a long waistcoat, from around 1666 onwards. This essentially began the trend of a coat or jacket over a waistcoat with some form of leg covering, which we would today consider a three-piece suit.

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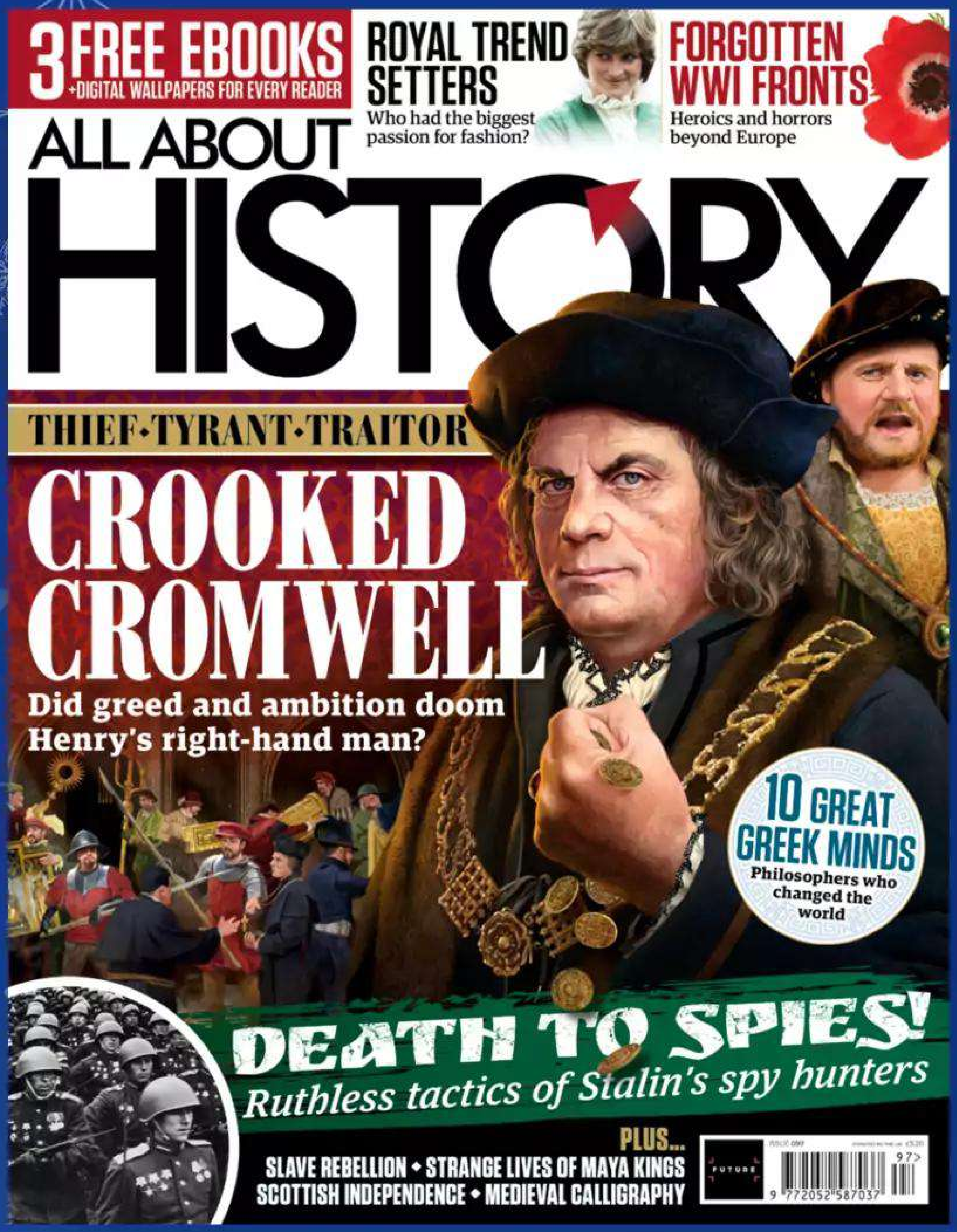
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STRANGE LIVES OF MAYA KINGS

From impersonating divine jaguars to trampling on the bodies of defeated enemies, we reveal the peculiar rituals and customs of these mysterious ancient rulers

Written by Jon Wright

Out of the dark shadows emerged a fairytale sight, a fantastic and transcendental view of another world. Such was the stunned reaction of the archaeologist Alberto Ruz Lhuillier as he first entered the tomb of K'inich Janaab' Pakal in 1952. Pakal had been the ruler of the bustling Maya city of Palenque, in present-day Chiapas, Mexico, from 615 until 683.

The massive carved stone lid of his sarcophagus, located beneath the city's Temple of Inscriptions, explained that Pakal would first travel to Xibalba, the Maya underworld, then make good his ascent via the legendary World Tree. Pakal was suitably dressed for his odyssey. His skeleton wore a stunning death mask along with the finest jade collar, necklaces and rings. His sarcophagus displayed images of his ancestors and symbolism redolent of the Maya maize god, a figure who encapsulated the perpetual cycles of rebirth and renewal. Pakal's journey was far from being over, and a stone tube, heading out of the tomb, may well have been intended as a 'psychoduct': a conduit through which Pakal's spirit could venture upwards to encounter worshippers in the temple.

The Maya knew how to treat their dead kings, especially during the so-called Classical period (c.250 CE–c.900), and royal funerary sites were crammed with treasures and potent images: jade and pyrite artefacts, porcelain-like cowrie shells, turtle carapaces, stingray spines and cinnabar. But why was such devout attention lavished on these men? What were the wellsprings of their authority, and how did they help bring the institution of divine kinship to its zenith?

A PATCHWORK OF POWER

A coherent, unified Maya empire never existed. It was always a story of regional powers competing for influence and squabbling over subjects or satellite cities. Fortunes ebbed and flowed, and a good way to weather the storms was to establish an intimidating, preferably enormous, stronghold. It used to be thought that the great Maya capitals (the likes of Tikal, Calakmul and Copán) were primarily ceremonial sites – sparsely populated for most of the year. But this analysis was well wide of the mark. By the later classical periods at least 20 cities had resident populations of 50,000 or more.

Rule, at least in theory, was patrilineal, passing from a king to his son, the b'aah ch'ok ('head youth'). Very occasionally, when it was the only way in order for a dynasty to survive, a woman or brother of the family might take the reins, but this tended to be disruptive. Not that we should be thinking in terms of single dynasties that ruled a city-state for 1,000 years. The Classic Maya did carefully number a city's kings: ruler one, ruler two, etc. The famous Heavenly Stairway at Copán epitomises this trend.

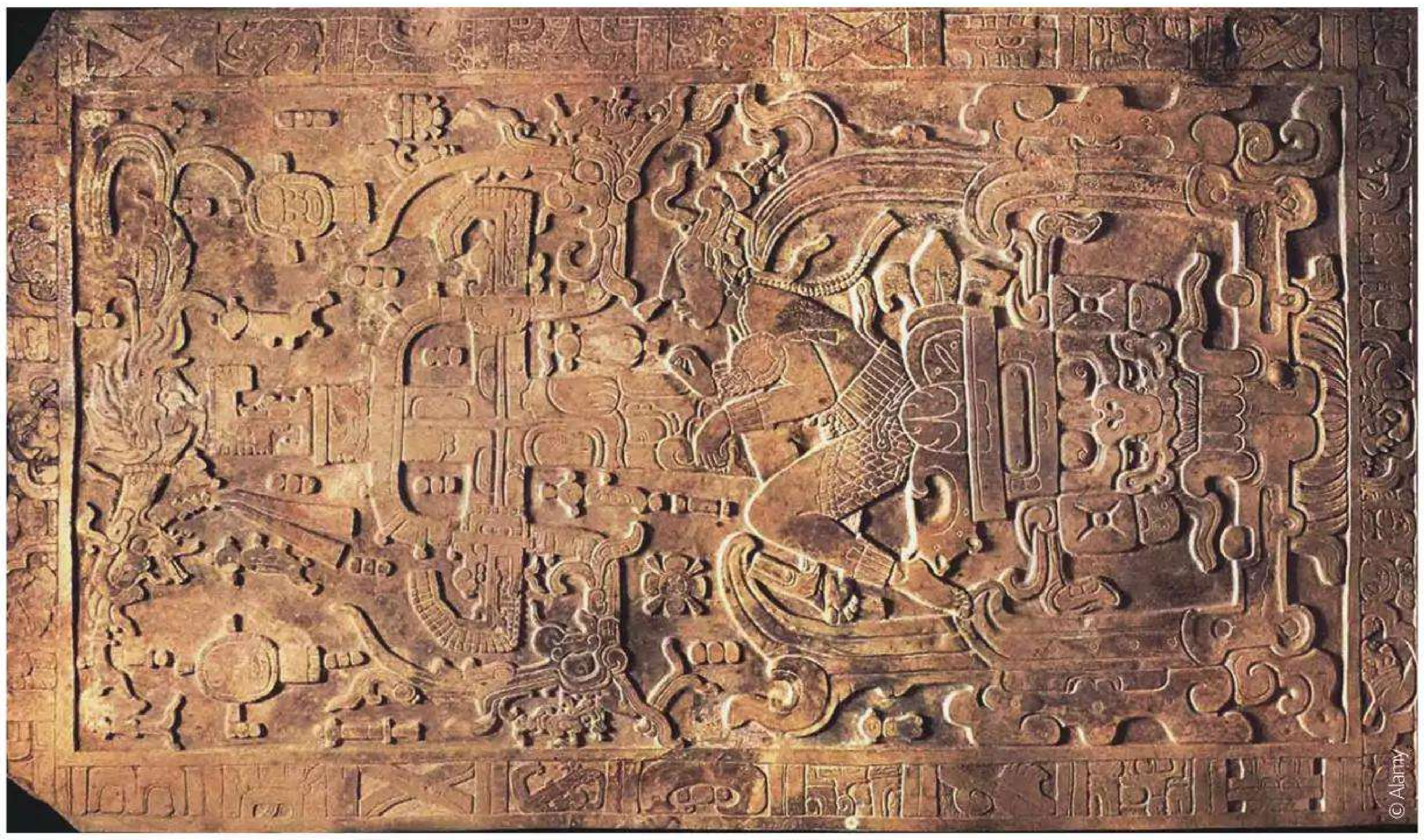
Comprised of dozens of steps and 2,500 stone blocks, it charted the sequence of 15 local kings from 426 onwards, all depicted through imagery and one of the longest Maya hieroglyphic texts. Not too far away, the richly decorated 'Altar Q' took the run of rulers up to 16.

However, in many places this would just have been an ideal of continuity, much like the carving on Pakal's tomb that imagines rulers as plants – cacao, guava and avocados among others – growing in the same orchard. All too often, in fact, a family dynasty withered away or was brought to an abrupt end. The mighty rulers of Tikal, for example, claimed direct ancestry from the shadowy figure of Yax Ehb Xook (ruled c.90 CE), but in the mid-fourth century forces from the Mexican city-state of Teotihuacán decided to set Tikal on a different path. The general Siyaj K'ak' arrived and in 329 CE, either through military conquest or gentler methods, installed Yax Nuun Ahiin I (a relation, perhaps even the son, of the Teotihuacán ruler) as king. A new dynasty was born, but Yak Nuun would immediately be referred to as the city's 'ruler 15', given the chaos that would inevitably have followed the overthrowing of a dynasty maintaining a semblance of order.

In such a milieu, sources of regal legitimacy came in various forms. Despite the interlopers and dynastic shifts, ancestry did remain important. Direct heirs would, when as young as five, go through a bloodletting ceremony to highlight their dynastic pedigree. In 658, in the city of Piedras Negras, the son of K'inich Yo'nal Ahk I (who had died 20 years earlier) entered his father's tomb. It was a smelly exercise (incense burned for five days to banish some of the stench) but an eloquent way of announcing that the family firm was still very much in charge.

Something for the journey: the funerary accoutrements of King Pakal of Palenque

Image source: wiki/Wolfgang Sauber



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ABOVE The intricately carved lid of King Pakal's sarcophagus

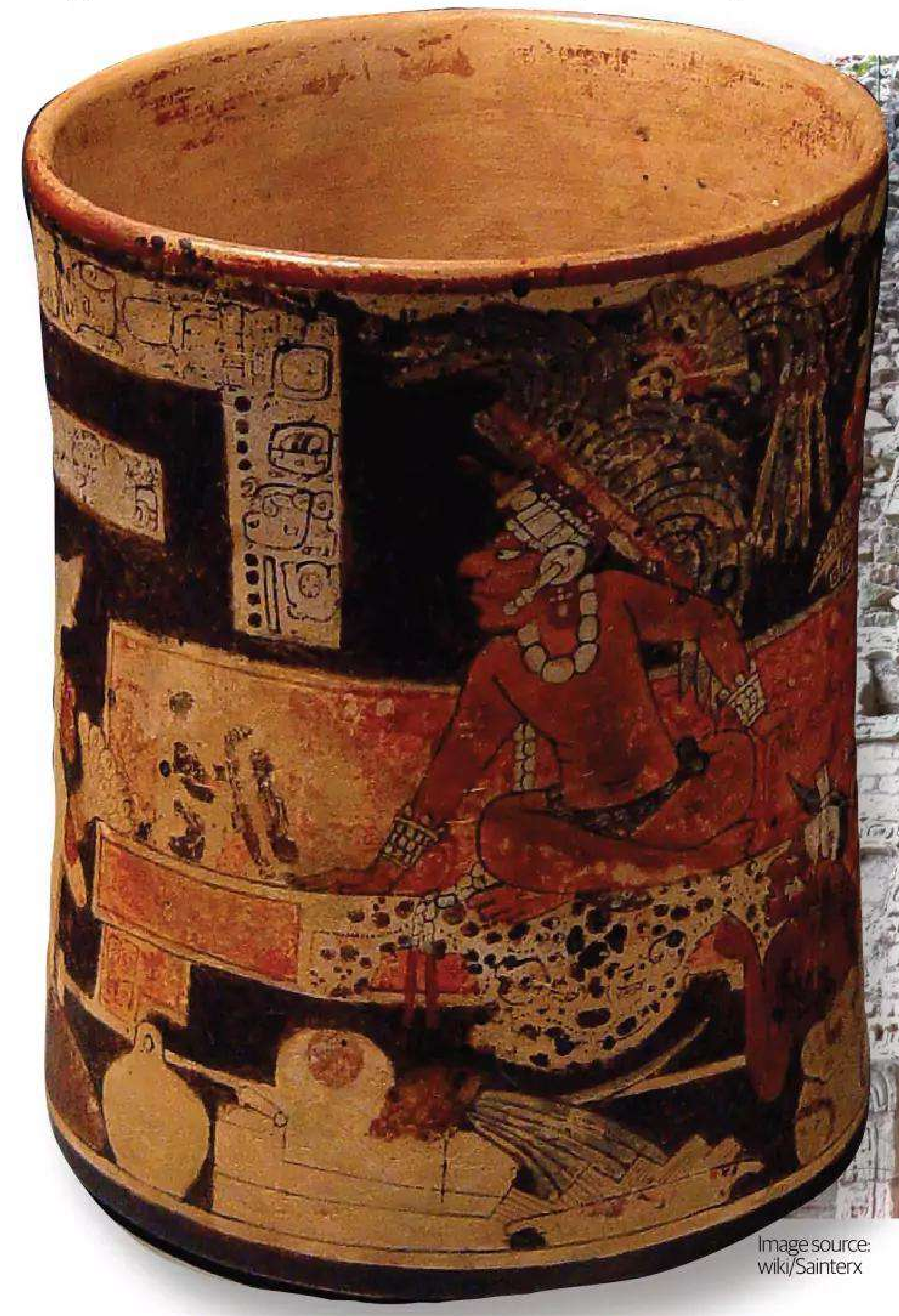
DIVINE LORDS AND DECAPITATORS

More was sometimes required to bolster kingly authority, however, and there was no better place to look than the gods: powerful if fickle allies. And if all else failed, you could always send the troops in search of an astonishing victory or two.

The Maya saw the world as a hostile place, filled with threats of scarcity, natural disaster and puzzling supernatural interventions. If your king had a direct link to the gods and served as a privileged intermediary, your prospects of survival improved. If he was semi-divine himself – and the term k'uhul ajaw, or 'divine lord', was in widespread use – then so much the better. Maya kings were eager to advertise this status from the outset. At their installation ceremonies they would sit on jaguar-pelt bolsters atop jaguar-pelt carpets, with jade stones around their foreheads and corn shoot and quetzal feather headdresses completing the look. All of this paraphernalia carried divine symbolic references, but, just to hammer the point home, the new ruler might be treated to a human sacrifice before he went off to commune – usually in private – with the deities.

Such ceremonial events continued throughout a monarch's reign. Kings would participate in ritual bloodlettings, with their blood supposedly feeding the gods. These were sometimes gruesome affairs: one of the famous Yaxchilán lintels shows a noblewoman pulling a rope lined with thorns through the king's tongue.

The personal link between kings and gods was compared to the relationship between father and son. In many places only the ruler was allowed to care for certain divine spaces: brushing it clean or ensuring there was a supply of offerings. One inscription at Palenque explains that the king "satisfies the hearts of his gods": the choice of possessive adjective is telling. On occasion, kings would simply lock themselves away in the most sacred parts of the temples, not eating for days but giving sustenance to the gods through their privations.



BELOW A vase produced between 700 and 800 shows a scene at a Maya royal court, with the ruler looking suitably magnificent on his jaguar-pelt throne

BELOW-RIGHT Family ties: the famous hieroglyphic stairway at Copán showing the city's long line of kings

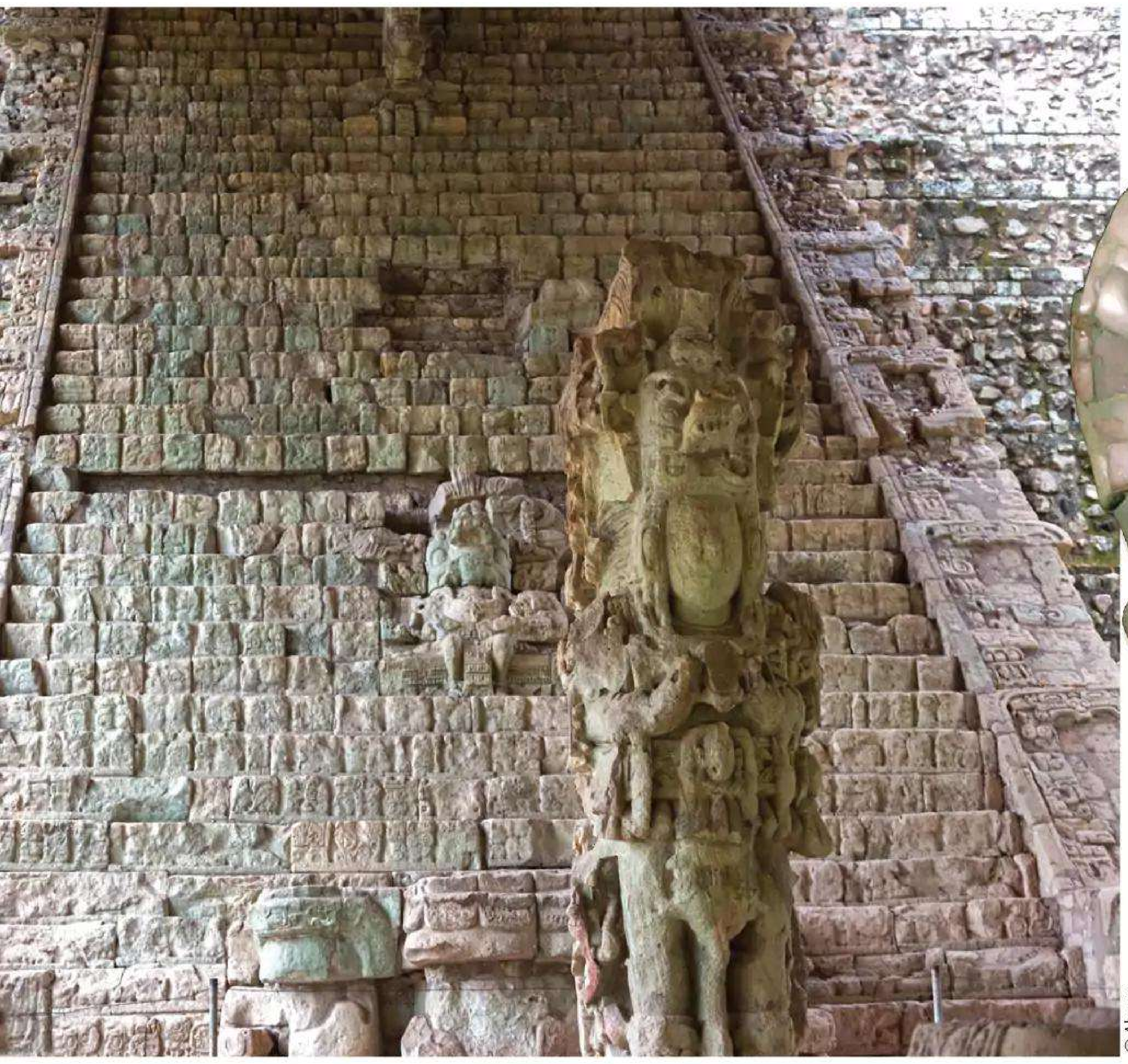
Image source: wiki/Sainterx

A host of other ceremonies accentuated links to the divine. Crops and water supplies would be blessed, year or cycle endings would be celebrated with gods and kings sharing the work of bringing new life to the cosmos. When victories were won, a dancing king would wear masks of the gods; if alliances were secured, two kings would dance together in their deity-impersonating finery. Even the names of rulers frequently had clear divine associations. The sun god and the creator god make regular appearances, sometimes joined by reference to patron gods linked to a specific city. The laurels in this regard probably go to K'ak' Tiliw Chan Yopaat, who ruled Quiriguá between 724 and 785. The likely translation of his title may sound rather bizarre to us – 'fire-burning, celestial lightning god' – but it certainly inspired awe in the eighth century.

This model of kingship was fundamentally charismatic, more dependent on inspiring devotion than on passing laws. And so long as things went well it could be very effective. If the droughts and famines stayed away, then the king was proving that his friendship with the gods was intact. A contented populace was willing to build the temples, fight the wars and pay the tributes. Unfortunately it might come crashing down: what if the rains never fell and the crops shrivelled?

> "The personal link between kings and gods was like the relationship between father and son"

A useful standby was military success. Heirs to the throne were expected to demonstrate military prowess from a very early age and, while we can't know how frequently kings personally led their troops into battle, they were always eager to claim the credit. The lengthy names of Maya rulers often contained soldierly phrases – 'he of 20 captives' or 'first axe wielder' – and nothing provoked quite so much delight as the slaying of a rival ruler. For ▶



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A WHO'S WHO OF MAYA KINGSHIP

Maya history is full of leaders whose deeds were celebrated for centuries after their death

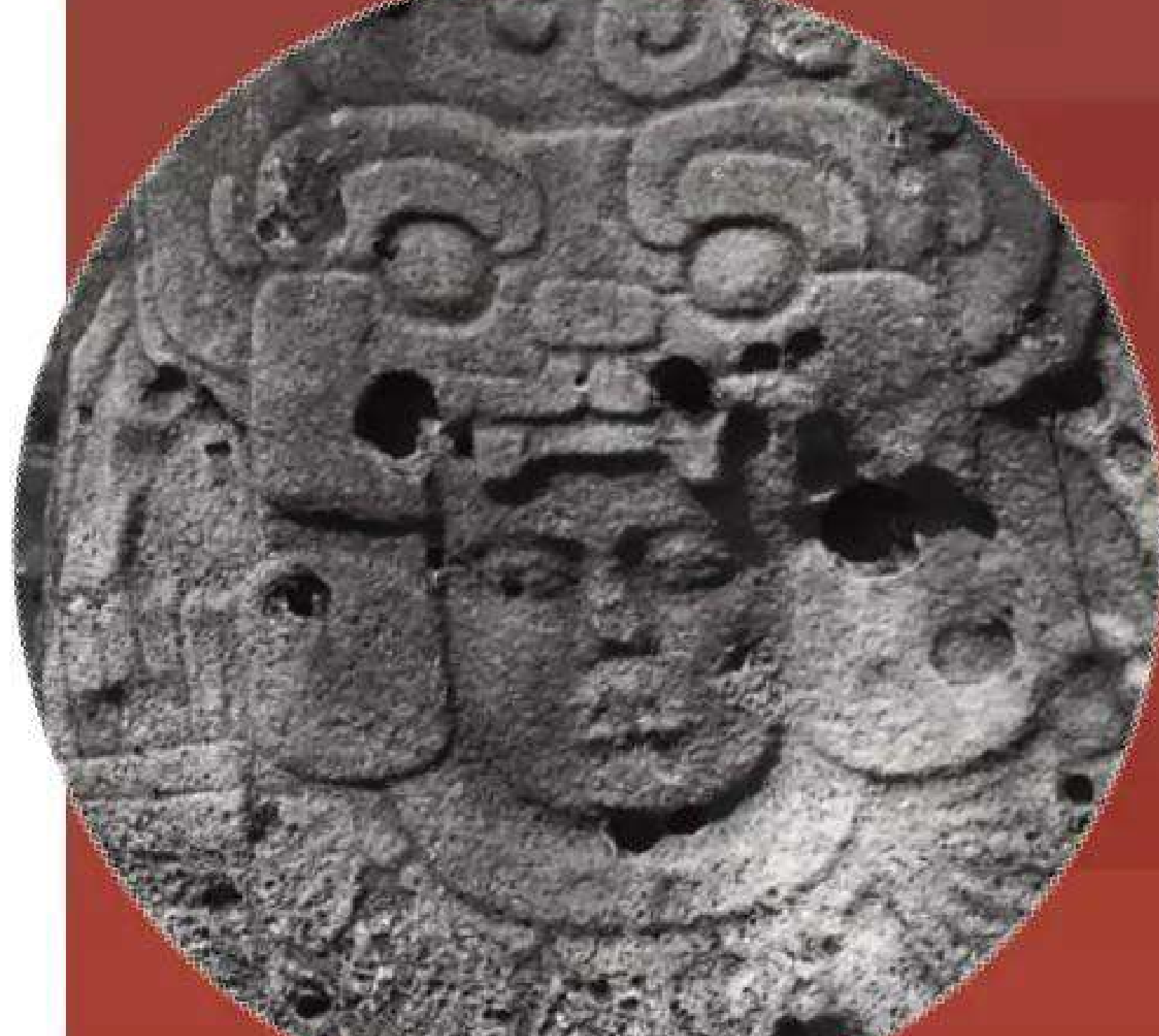


Image source: © H. Grobe

YAX NUUN AHIIN I

CITY: TIKAL • **REIGN:** 379-404 CE

Also known as Curl Snout, he supplanted the ruling dynasty at Tikal. His burial reflected the respect he had acquired: his tomb contained a xylophone-style instrument made from turtle shells and the corpses of ten sacrificed youths.

K'INICH YAX K'UK' MO'

CITY: COPÁN • **REIGN:** 426-435/7 CE

Founder of the city's greatest dynasty and proud owner of one the loveliest regal Maya names: 'Radiant First Quetzal Macaw'. The importance of being able to claim links to ancient forebears is demonstrated in this image, where K'Inich is seen passing the torch, literally and figuratively, to a later ruler.

© Alamy

Q'UQ'UMATZ

CITY: Q'UMARKAJ
REIGN: C.1400-C.1425

Probably the boldest of the K'iche' rulers, it was said that he could transform into a snake or an eagle or travel to the underworld. He certainly oversaw a golden period of groundbreaking territorial expansion.

K'AK' TILIW CHAN YOPAAT

CITY: QUIRIGUÁ
REIGN: 724-85

Though usually of limited political influence, Quiriguá was one of the jewels in the crown of Maya architecture. Under Yopaat's rule it finally achieved autonomy from its overlord, Copán.

UAXACLAJUUN UB'AAH K'AWIIL

CITY: COPÁN
REIGN: 695-738

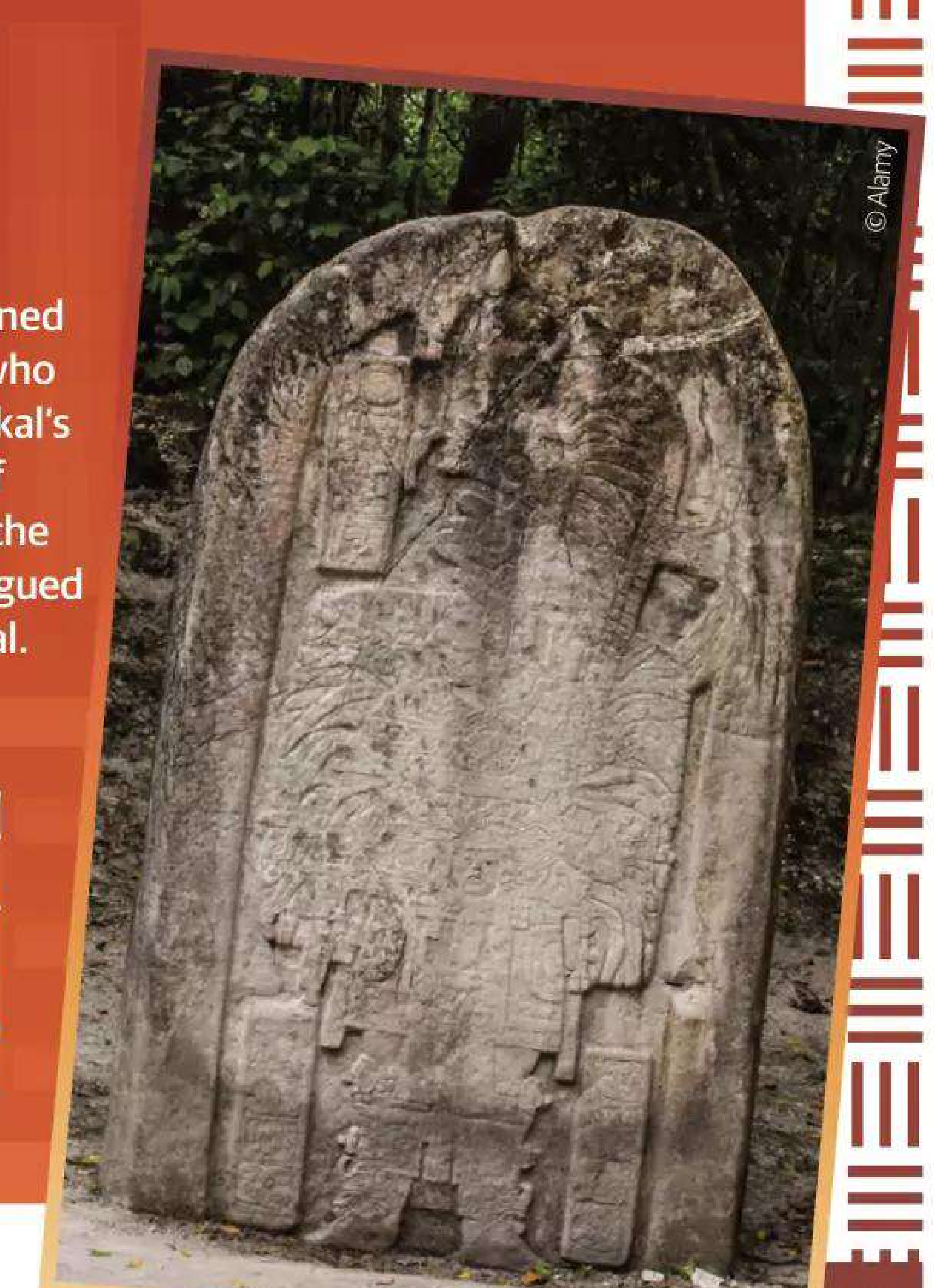
He brought Copán to a peak of architectural splendour – including the construction of perhaps the finest Maya ball court. His reign ended badly: decapitation by the ruler of Quiriguá.

Image source: © Bernard Dupont

YUKNOOM CH'EEN II

CITY: CALAKMUL
REIGN: 636–86

This death mask shows perhaps the most renowned of all Calakmul's rulers, who took full advantage of Tikal's decline to take control of vassal cities and exploit the familial disputes that plagued Calakmul's long-term rival.



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JASAW CHAN K'AWIIL I

CITY: TIKAL • **REIGN:** 682–C.734

He helped drag Tikal out of the so-called mid-Classical hiatus and saw it reemerge as one of the most culturally alert and adventurous Maya cities.

CAPTURING THE MOMENT OF KINGSHIP

If you didn't erect your fair share of stelae, then you really weren't doing your job as a Maya king

Carved stone columns, often erected in the vicinity of temples, can be found all across Maya territory. These so-called stelae are most closely associated with the Classical period. The first surviving example that deploys the Long Date calendar system was erected at Tikal in 292 CE and the last can be found at Toniná, dated 909. Similar constructions did, however, appear during the pre- and post-Classical eras.

Stelae are mines of useful information and their carvings reveal – in both imagery and hieroglyphics – royal names and deeds, family histories, religious symbolism and expressions of a particular ruler's achievements. A particularly popular trope is the heroic Maya king trampling on the bodies of his vanquished enemies. Unfortunately, many stelae have suffered from the ravages of time and weathering, but they remain one of the mainstays of archaeological research.

Though designed as statements of kingly authority – and most likely at the heart of various rituals – stelae also fascinate because of their fluctuating quality. Their creators were sometimes journeymen stone workers, but others were clearly highly skilled, innovative artists. Calakmul has a particularly high concentration of stelae (113 at the last count) and some of those at Quiriguá are unusually tall, reaching up to 10 metres.

example, in 738 K'ak' Tiliw Chan Yopaat of Quiriguá captured his overlord, the ruler of Copán, and ritually decapitated him.

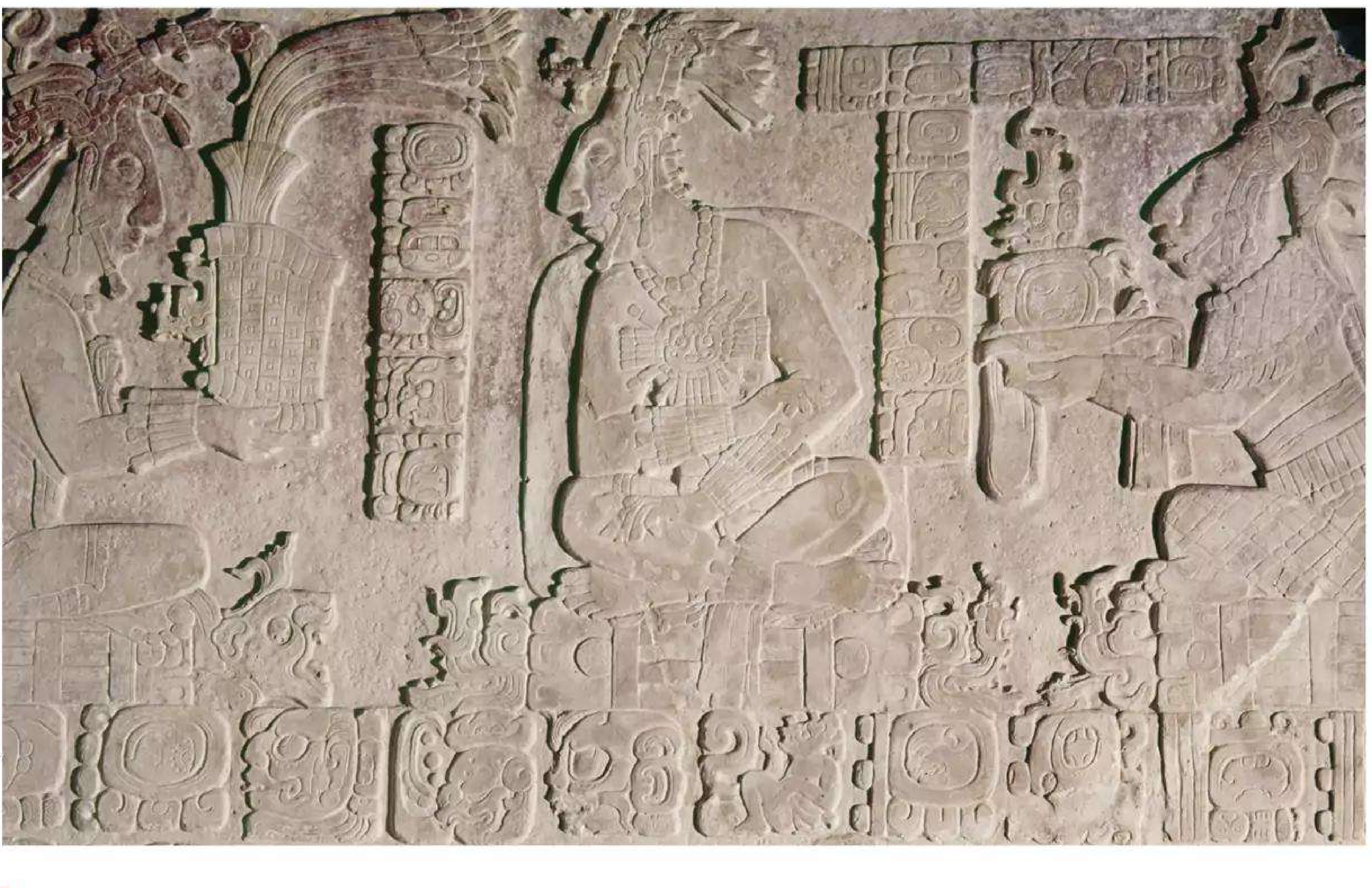
The fragility of charismatic kingship also meant sensible Maya rulers were involved with the bureaucratic detail of governance. They ensured water supplies continued to flow, constructing aqueducts and catchment infrastructures such as the reservoir at Calakmul, with its 200 million litre capacity. They oversaw an equitable distribution of goods, worked hard to sustain trade relationships and tried to ensure a steady flow of rare, distant commodities such as sea salt. The ceremonial removal of hearts or comparisons to supernatural jaguars who rescued the Sun every night could only get you so far: ensuring the people had full bellies was every bit as important.

> "The Spanish arrived and denounced the Maya as a backwards, superstitious people"

BEFORE AND AFTER

On balance, kingship during the Maya Classical era was a success, though competition between city states was common. Tikal and Calakmul were engaged in a perpetual tug of war between the sixth and eighth centuries – fighting over vassal cities, launching proxy wars and pitting brothers against brothers. Things got so bad for Tikal that between the 560s and 670s it was particularly hard hit by the mid-Classical hiatus. The city ground to a halt and not a single stela was erected. Tikal bounced back, however, signalling the model of Classical kingship was durable. But the hiatus can be seen as a precursor of the Great Collapse, originating in the ninth century, that ravaged the Maya. Problems with political instability, population numbers and food supply all struck at once. The nature of government also came under scrutiny, a reminder that Maya ideas about kingship were fluid.

BELOW
A seventh-century portrayal of a priest of the sun cult and a priest of the rain god making offerings to the ruler of Palenque



4x © Alamy

Take the Preclassical era, for example. It has often been assumed that rulers were more akin to small-scale chieftains. They certainly never achieved the ritualistic sophistication or closely defined divine attributes of the Classical era, but it turns out that they had a lot in common with their more-celebrated successors. For one thing, cities in the 400–500 years before the Classical period – notably El Mirador, with a population of up to 100,000 – could reach an impressive size. Their rulers were independent kings and sometimes took the title of 'ajaw' – a term usually associated with the post-250 CE Maya rulers. And just as coherent governance existed long before Classical times, so it endured – in tweaked or radically altered ways – after the great Classical collapse. It's very hard to trace this development, but one key question was repeatedly asked: was placing something close to absolute power in the hands of one ruler still the wisest option?

This was not an entirely novel conundrum. Kings had relied heavily on their officials and advisers: they did not simply

wander around their palaces barking orders. Ruling elites were very powerful and fought – just as tenaciously as kings – to pass their offices down through the family. It's not difficult to imagine the specific duties with which they were charged – diplomacy, ceremonial arrangements, financial matters, and so on – but it's inordinately tricky to pin down the precise nature of portfolios, let alone the names of those who carried them. A council meeting was not quite as exciting a subject as a god, a battle or a spectacular ritual when you were producing carved images, eye-catching ceramics or hieroglyphic masterpieces. We do at least have recurrent titles that offer important hints. The 'sajal' crops up quite frequently and may have designated a subordinate lord or regional governor. 'Aj-k'uh-huun' means something like 'he of the holy books', or 'he who venerates', which points to a priestly or perhaps astronomical role. Another term is easily translated as 'lord of the fire', but what on earth does that mean in terms of job description? We can be sure, though, that these elites were becoming increasingly assertive as the Classical era was coming to an end and the post-Classical world was beginning to emerge.

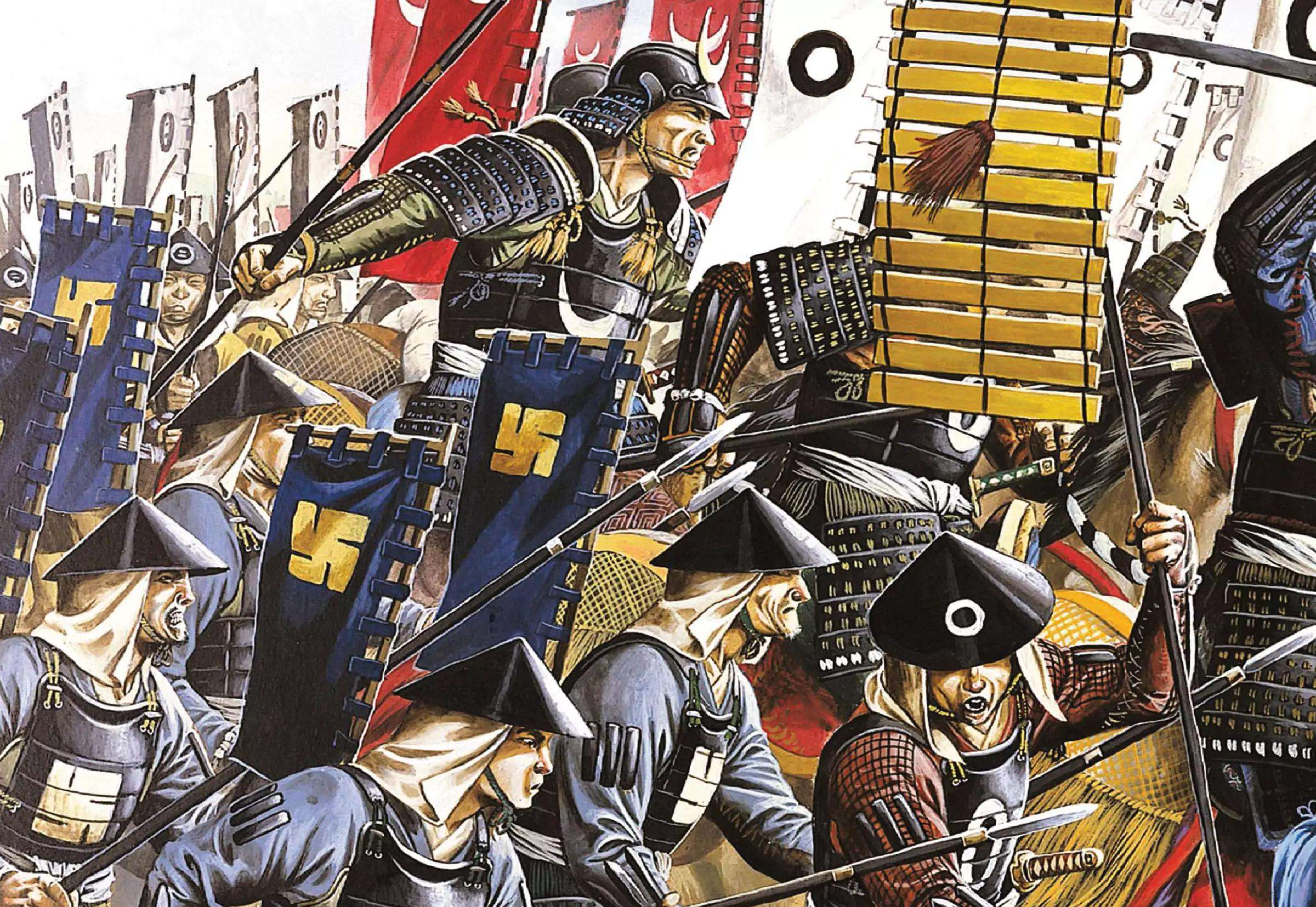
But was there a swift transition in governmental organisation in the city states that replaced the likes of Tikal or Calakmul? Probably not. Scholars once agreed that Chichén Itzá, located in central Yucatán, adopted a model of council-based, shared rule. It now seems that older models of kingship endured for some time. In another emergent city state, Uxmal, lasting dynasties had little opportunity to lay down roots, but dominant rulers such as Chan Chak K'ak'nal Ajaw were perfectly capable of acting like the Maya kings of old. In the next wave of city states, debate about the lineaments of power continued. Mayapán, a long-standing polity that achieved tremendous power from the 12th century, adopted a confederate form of government, but bold, power-hungry figures often held sway.

In the impressive K'iche' kingdom based in the Guatemalan Highlands, everything was rather muddled, with rival lineages constantly at loggerheads. A much-needed dose of old-fashioned kingship – or something akin to it – arrived in 1400 when the ruler Quq'kumatz established a new capital at Q'umarkaj, a city whose name had an unfortunate meaning ('place of the rotten cane') but from which a final flowering of Maya culture and territorial acquisitiveness developed. Fifteenth-century Q'umarkaj went through the motions of having representatives of the major lineages choose its rulers, but the city was, for all intents and purposes, a kingdom with an autocrat at the helm.

There was, in fact, still a good deal of promise in the millennia-old Maya civilisation, and other dominant city states would certainly have sprung up. But, to everyone's surprise, the Spanish arrived and denounced the Maya as a backwards, superstitious people. The Spanish failed to realise that, back when Iberian societies were just finding their feet, the Maya had already established one of the most fascinating, artistically sophisticated civilisations in history. But that's the arrogance of 16th-century European invaders for you.

ABOVE The Palace of the governor at Uxmal, a city state that rose to prominence during and after the great Classical collapse

BELOW 'Altar Q', discovered at Copán – another means by which the importance of ancestry and lineage was depicted in stone carvings



Greatest Battles

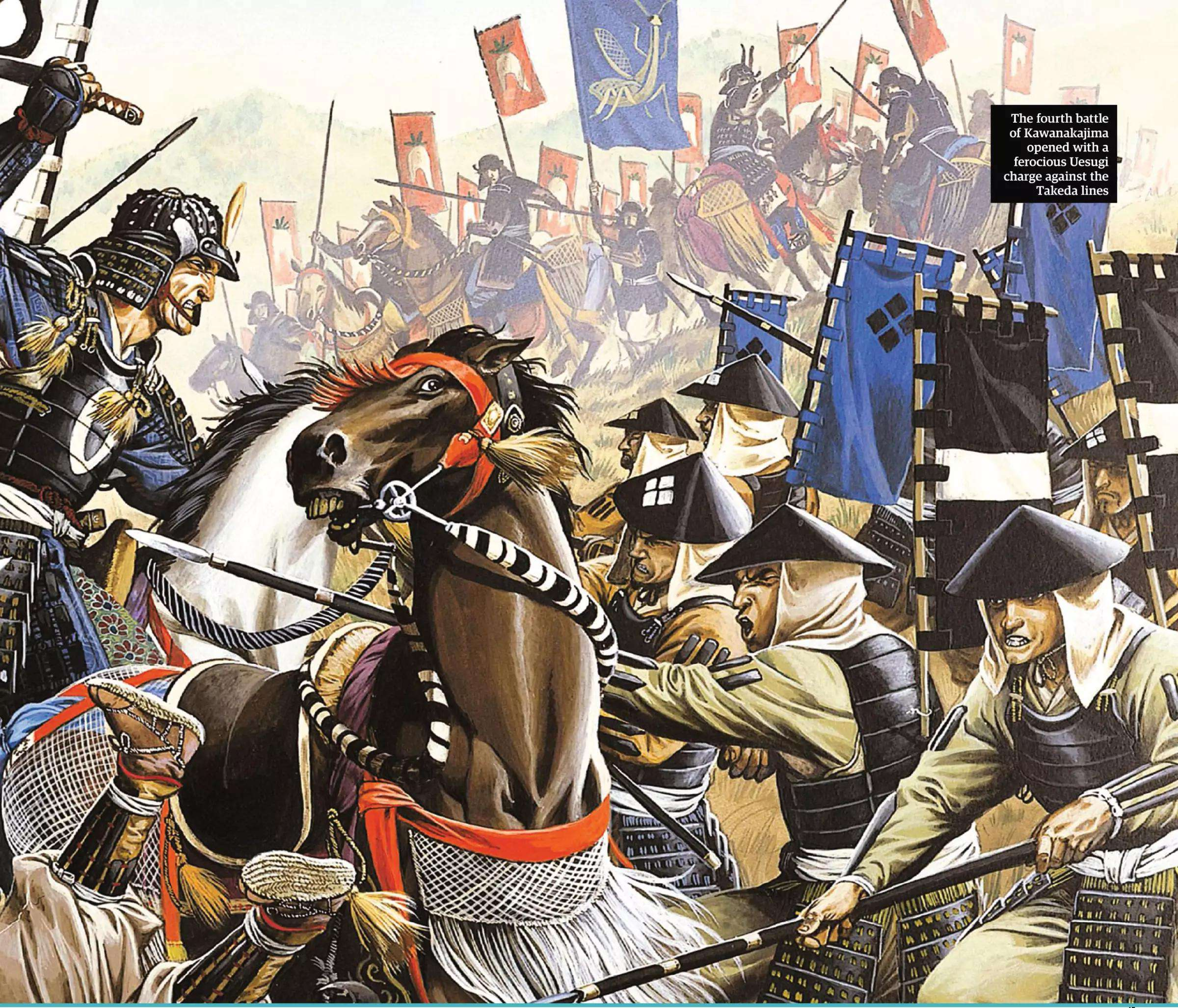
BATTLE OF KAWANAKAJIMA

THE KAWANAKAJIMA PLAIN, SHINANO, 16-17 OCTOBER 1561

Written by Miguel Miranda

It was the height of the Sengoku Jidai (1467-1603), the terrible age when Japan's imperial system nearly collapsed among feuding warlords. As powerful samurai families vied for supremacy one particular rivalry echoed through the centuries to be hailed as an indelible part of Japan's national heritage. At the time of the Sengoku, two great houses, one led by a relentless military strategist and the other by a pious warrior, sought to expand their territory. The bitter struggle would drag on for 11 years.

In the province of Shinano there was an empty plain called Kawanakajima where the Sai and Chikuma rivers met. It was over this terrain that the armies belonging to Takeda Shingen and Uesugi Kenshin faced each other on numerous occasions. The reason for their enmity was direct control of



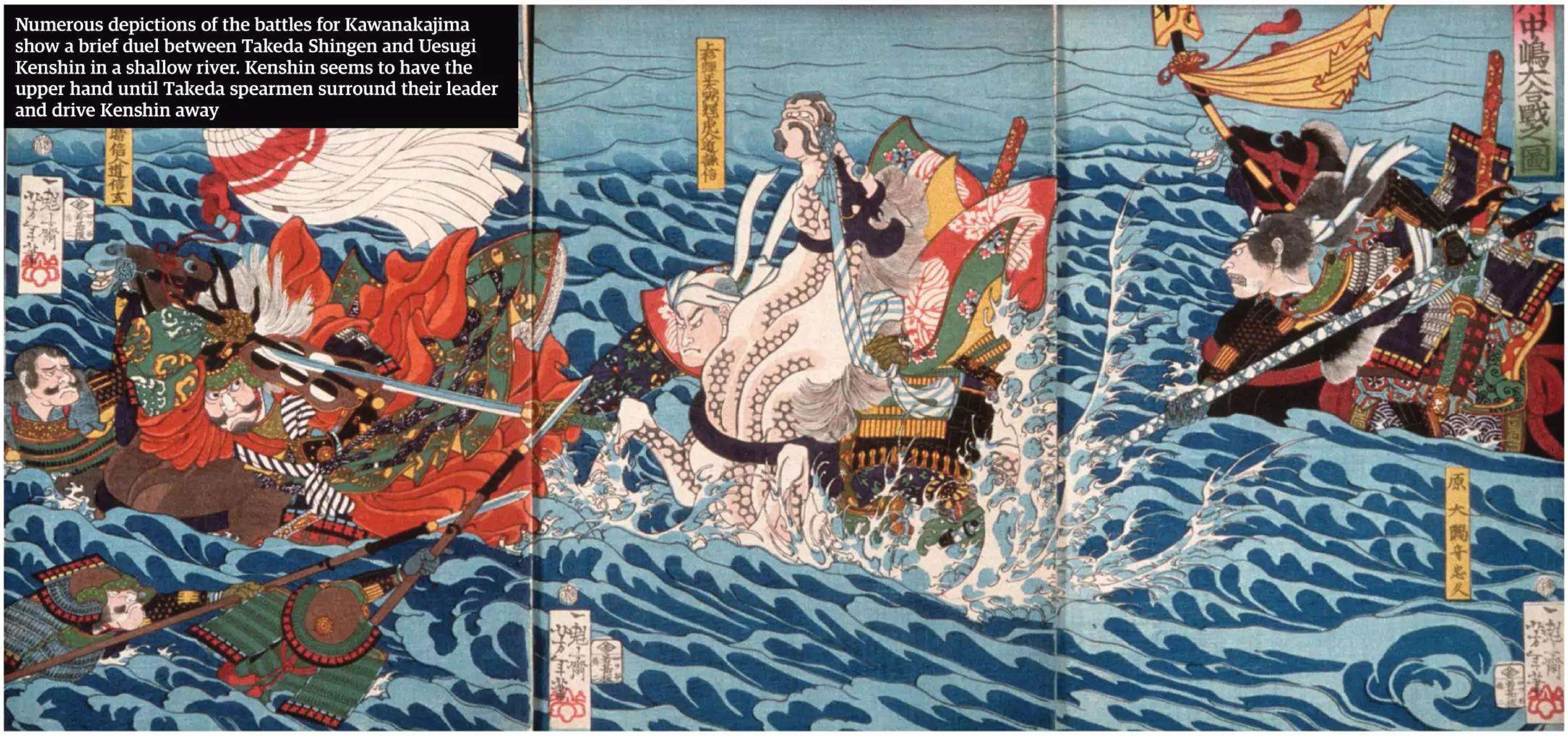
The fourth battle of Kawanakajima opened with a ferocious Uesugi charge against the Takeda lines

Image source: Osprey

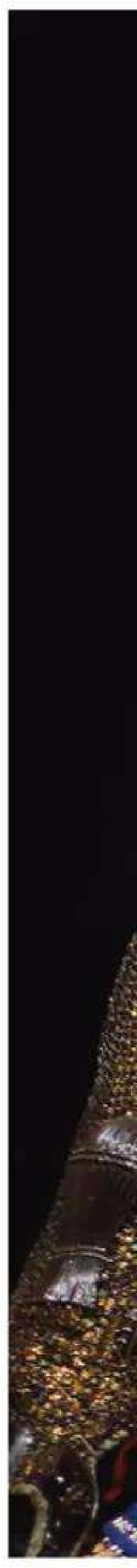
Shinano; the Takeda clan wanted it added to their domain while the Uesugi deemed it a useful buffer to protect their own province, Echigo. In 1555, the two armies even camped on opposite ends of Kawanakajima waiting several months for the perfect opportunity to conclude a siege. Despite the fact that the Takeda were on the defensive and had the advantage of possessing firearms, no decisive chance came and the armies withdrew at the onset of winter. Years passed, and in September 1861 Uesugi Kenshin was confident enough to once again mobilise his samurai and march from his fortress by the sea, Kasugayama. Echigo had prospered under his rule and he was well-regarded for his courage and loyalty. Born under the name Nagao Kagetora into a family of samurai retainers, the future Daimyo was made an honorary member of the Uesugi clan and adopted the name 'Kenshin' upon taking a Buddhist monk's holy vows. Unlike many other warlords in the Sengoku era, he had no ambitions to vie for Kyoto, the imperial capital and seat of the Ashikaga Shogunate that had perished decades before. Instead, the best years of his life were spent thwarting his nemesis, Takeda Shingen.

Kenchin's older rival was a formidable adversary who aspired to conquer a sizeable domain. Barely 15 years old during his first battle, by the age of 40 Takeda Haronobu's hard-earned experience and temperament made him feared throughout Japan. Like Kenshin, he chose to rebrand his public persona with the Buddhist appellation 'Shingen' to embellish his stature as a local ruler. Shingen cultivated a reputation for fairness when dealing with his subjects. But since he was never content with just the province of Kai, Shingen sought to subdue the province of Shinano and the idyllic Kawanakajima plain with it.

Despite his successful attacks on Shinano that drove its rulers to exile, Takeda Shingen had little control over Kawanakajima and its mountains. For the sake of expedience, he maintained a fortress with a commanding view over the Chikuma River. This stronghold, called Eizo, was a modest affair by the standards of the time but it could support several thousand samurai and had ramparts strong enough for withstanding a siege. Unknown to Takeda Shingen, his arch nemesis Uesugi Kenshin was already on the march and Eizo's token garrison was insufficient to repel a determined push from the other side of the Chikuma River. In the beginning of October a Takeda army, 20,000-



Numerous depictions of the battles for Kawanakajima show a brief duel between Takeda Shingen and Uesugi Kenshin in a shallow river. Kenshin seems to have the upper hand until Takeda spearmen surround their leader and drive Kenshin away



strong, marched to the likeliest site for a decisive clash – Kawanakajima. A nominal alliance with the Hojo clan from the province of Odawara to the north, who were also feuding with the Uesugi in Echigo, provided a good enough casus belli.

Once secure in the Eizo fortress Shingen was informed by his trusted military strategist Yamamoto Kansuke that the Uesugi army was encamped in the Saijoyama heights to the south east. This was clear proof of Uesugi Kenshin's own intelligence. Holding elevated ground surrounded by forest, his army was almost impervious from attack. But the strategist Kansuke convinced his master that a narrow pass could be exploited for a raid on the Uesugi camp. Give him the right men, the Takeda strategist explained, and he would drive the Uesugi down to Kawanakajima.

Takeda Shingen recognised the tactics at play as described by his strategist. It was like a hunt, where the beasts are driven from their woodland hideouts to flee. As they rush over open ground in a brute panic, armed men blocking their path are at the ready for the ensuing slaughter. Once in disarray as they escaped the Saijoyama heights, the fastest way to the safety of their lands was over the rivers. Takeda Shingen applauded his strategist and decided to lay the trap himself. From Eizo he would march the bulk of his samurai to the Chikuma River's western bank awaiting the Uesugi rout. Yamamoto Kansuke, on the other hand, assigned 12,000 samurai to a trusted general, Kosaka Masonobu, and tasked them with overrunning the Uesugi encampment in a surprise attack.

TURNING THE TABLES

Unknown to the occupants of the Eizo fortress their strategy was compromised before it even began. The daimyos (minor nobles under the shogun) and upstarts who bickered throughout Japan spent fortunes on their samurais' equipment – the Sengoku era saw the adoption of locally made Tanegashima muskets and other firearms – but placed greater value on critical intelligence. After all, outsmarting one's enemies could produce a greater effect than a mere battle over open ground. So on the same night the Takeda army set out from Eizo fortress, Uesugi Kenshin led his army down from Saijoyama.

How exactly Kenshin guessed his rival's plans has never been discovered. Perhaps a spy within Takeda Shingen's inner circle had relayed his latest findings to the Uesugis. It could have been a combination of decisiveness and wits for Kenshin. Indeed, the discipline of his army was such that an evacuation involving 18,000 samurai went unnoticed. Before daybreak the Uesugi army had travelled down Saijoyama and crossed the Chikuma river. Prudence dictated that the army's rear must be guarded, so Kenshin left 1,000 cavalrymen at a landmark called Amakasu.

Meanwhile, in the early morning of 17 October, an excited Takeda Shingen had arranged his 8,000 strong blocking force on the Kawanakajima plain ready to smash the fleeing Uesugi once Masonobu effected their retreat from the Saijoyama heights. An impenetrable fog had crept down from the nearby mountains and covered the battlefield in haze as the Takeda army waited in absolute silence. Soon, ever so slowly, the fog lifted and a worrisome noise reached the arrayed samurai. It was the ominous rumble of approaching cavalry and once the banners held aloft by the horsemen could be seen it became apparent to the Takeda their day would not be easy. The Uesugi were rushing toward them, lances and bows at the ready, and Masonobu's own pursuit was nowhere to be seen.

What became the Fourth Battle of Kawanakajima spanned a single dreadful day. Separated from more than half their number, the Takeda samurai put up a valiant defence with their swords and spears. The Uesugi exerted themselves too, albeit in successive charges at their stubborn opponents. This tactic meant the Uesugi cavalry struck the immobile Takeda until their arrows and stamina were depleted, compelling a sudden withdrawal. Rather than allow for a moment's reprieve, another wave of cavalry descended on the Takeda, who refused to scatter in their leader's presence.

The singular moment of the battle involved Takeda Shingen's near death at the hands of Uesugi Kenshin, who had stormed his enemy's command post. Still astride his mount, Kenshin led a small retinue of cavalry and rushed the position. Rather than face a wall of loyal Takeda samurai, the enclosure was almost deserted except for Shingen

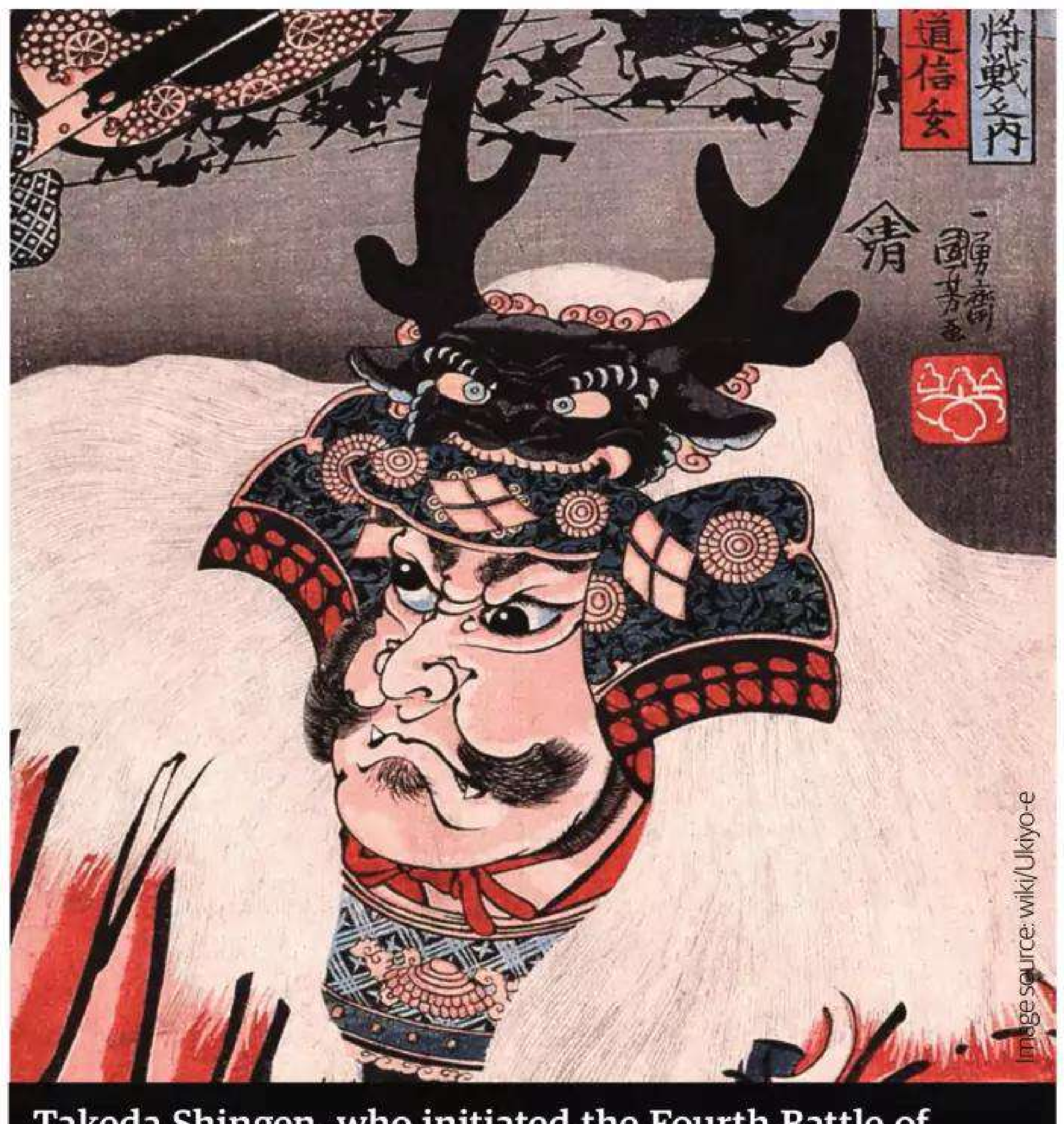


Image source: wiki/Ukiyo-e

Takeda Shingen, who initiated the Fourth Battle of Kawanakajima to finally defeat Uesugi Kenshin, is remembered as a cunning and ruthless opponent with a fondness for elaborate tactics

An example of Japanese samurai armour

2x © Alamy

himself, who was startled by Kenshin's sudden appearance. Not missing the opportunity, Kenshin slashed at the Takeda daimyo, hoping to deliver a mortal blow. But Shingen blocked Kenshin's sword with his sturdy two-sided fan, which functioned more like a commander's baton. Before Kinshen could trample on the straining Shingen or swing his sword again to decapitate the Takeda daimyo, his horse was wounded by a spearman.

At an unspecified moment, Shingen was able to mount his horse and lead a counter-attack on the Uesugi, but was chased away by a relentless Kenshin whose head was wrapped in a white towel. This was atypical for mounted warriors, except that Kenshin was a devout Buddhist who donned religious garb even in combat. Wading into the Chikuma River, the two warlords slashed at each other with their swords. But the youthful Kenshin, who was just 31 compared to Shingen's 40, overpowered his rival and struck the Takeda daimyo's shoulder. Before the injured Shingen collapsed into the rushing currents beneath him, a group of Takeda samurai surrounded Kenshin and drove him away.

What almost ended the battle was the shambolic arrival of the 12,000-strong contingent led by Yosaka Masonobu, who were earlier tasked with attacking the Uesugi camped at Saijoyama. Upon discovering the position vacant, a worried Mosonobu led his samurai down the same mountain trail to reach the Kawanakajima plain below. Their momentum was almost halted by a strong detachment of 1,000 Uesugi samurai guarding a crossing on the Chikuma River. Sheer force of numbers allowed the Takeda to prevail and they soon caught up with the Uesugi. It seemed as if an encirclement was underway yet before noon the tireless Kenshin had reorganised his formations and effected a clean withdrawal.

TAKEDA CLAN

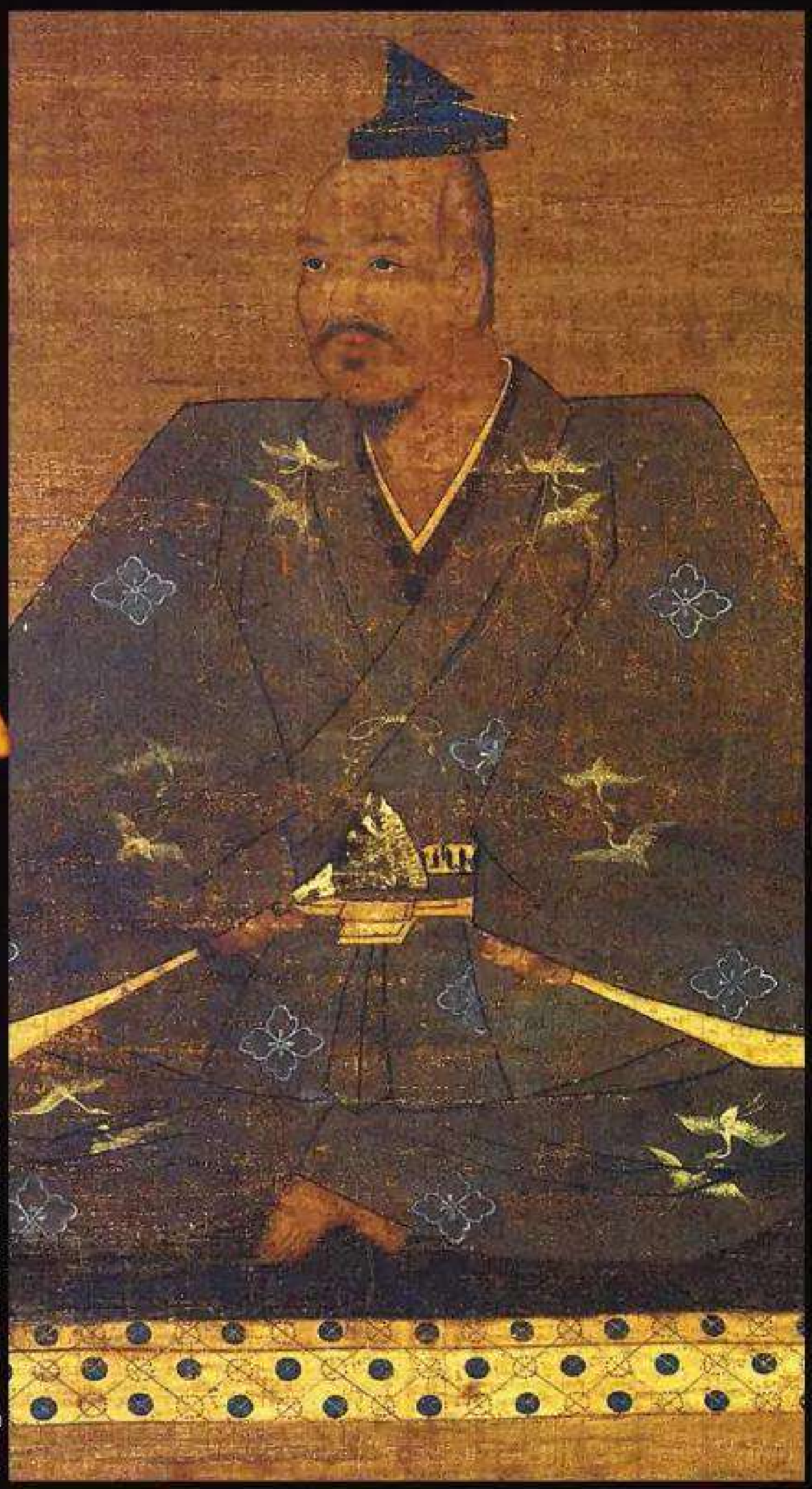


Image source: wiki/Fūrin Kazan

TAKEDA SHINGEN

At the age of 15 Takeda was already getting his first tastes of battle as he assisted his father at the Battle of Un no Kuchi. Twenty-five years later this battle would stretch his forces to their limit and in the aftermath he faced plots against him.

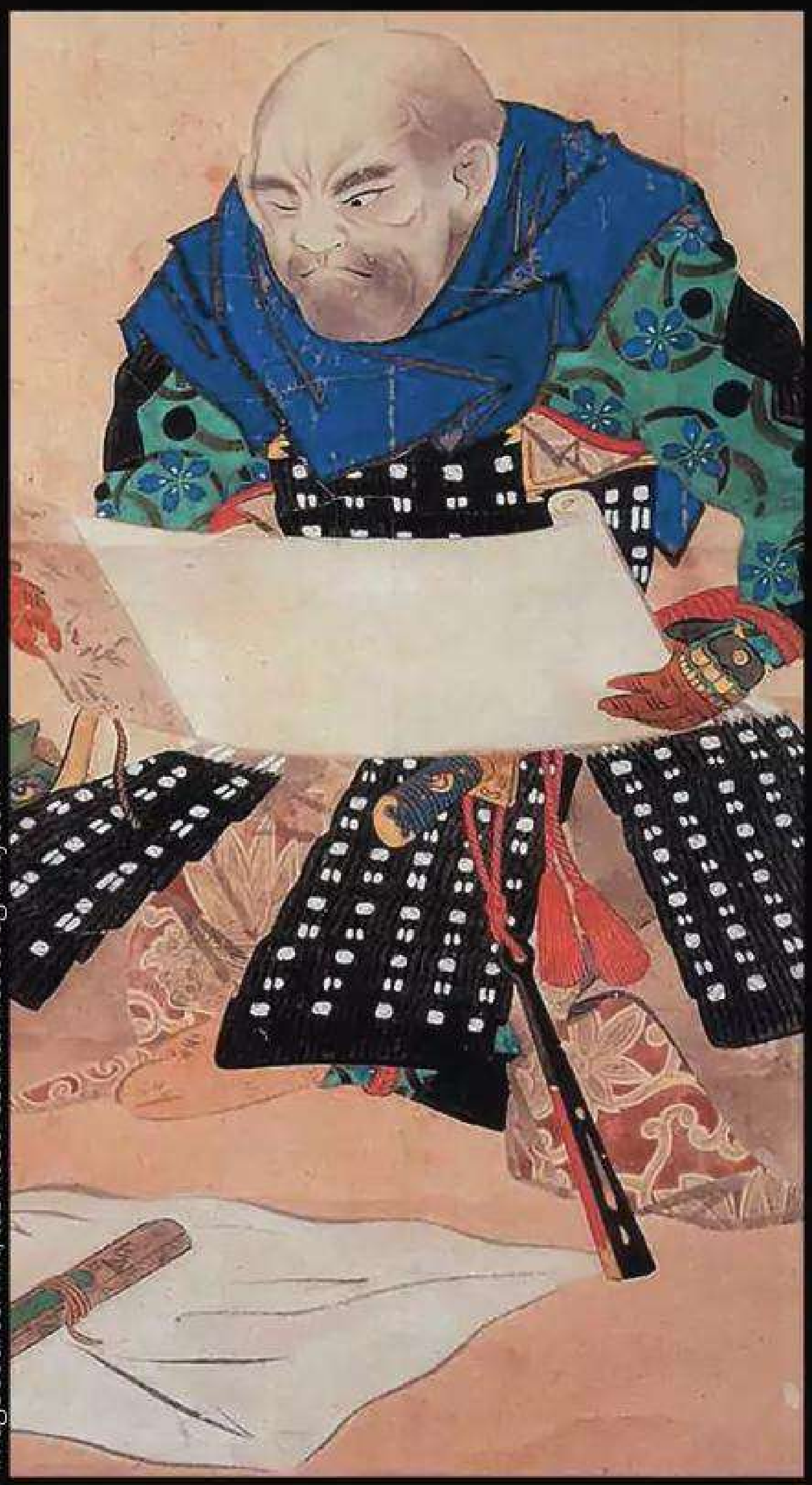


Image source: wiki/tabikoborebanashi.cocolog-nifty.com

YAMAMOTO KANSUKE

The trusted commander and strategist of Takeda had a great plan going into Kawanakajima, but it ultimately proved to be his last. Having lost Uesugi's forces he mistakenly thought all had been lost and charged to his death into the enemy forces.

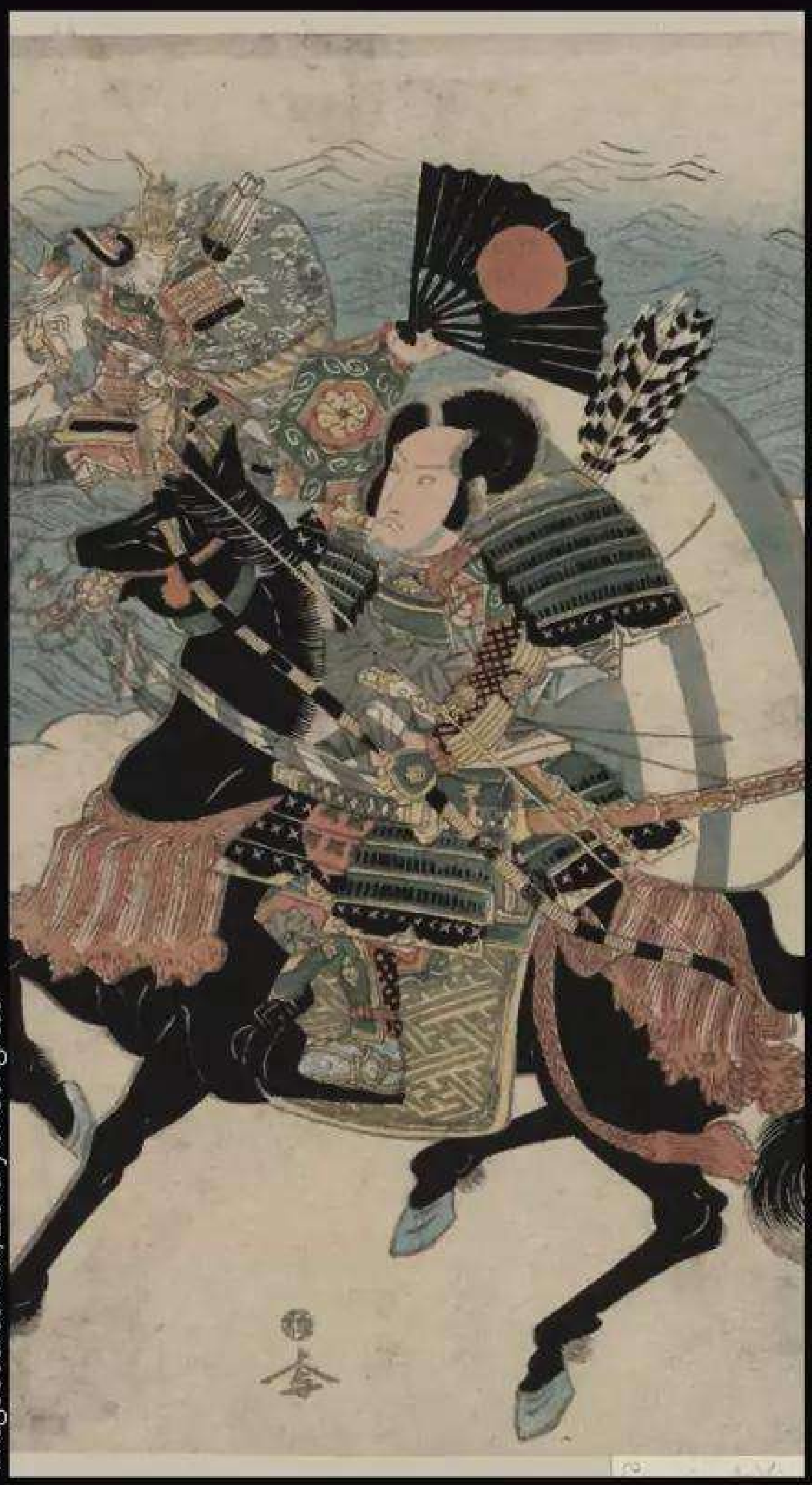


Image source: wiki/Library of Congress

TESSEN FAN

When Uesugi got the upper hand on Takeda during the battle he was left with only his war fan, or Tessen, to defend himself. The strange scenario became a favourite topic for artists who wanted to retell the Battle of Kawanakajima.

UESUGI CLAN

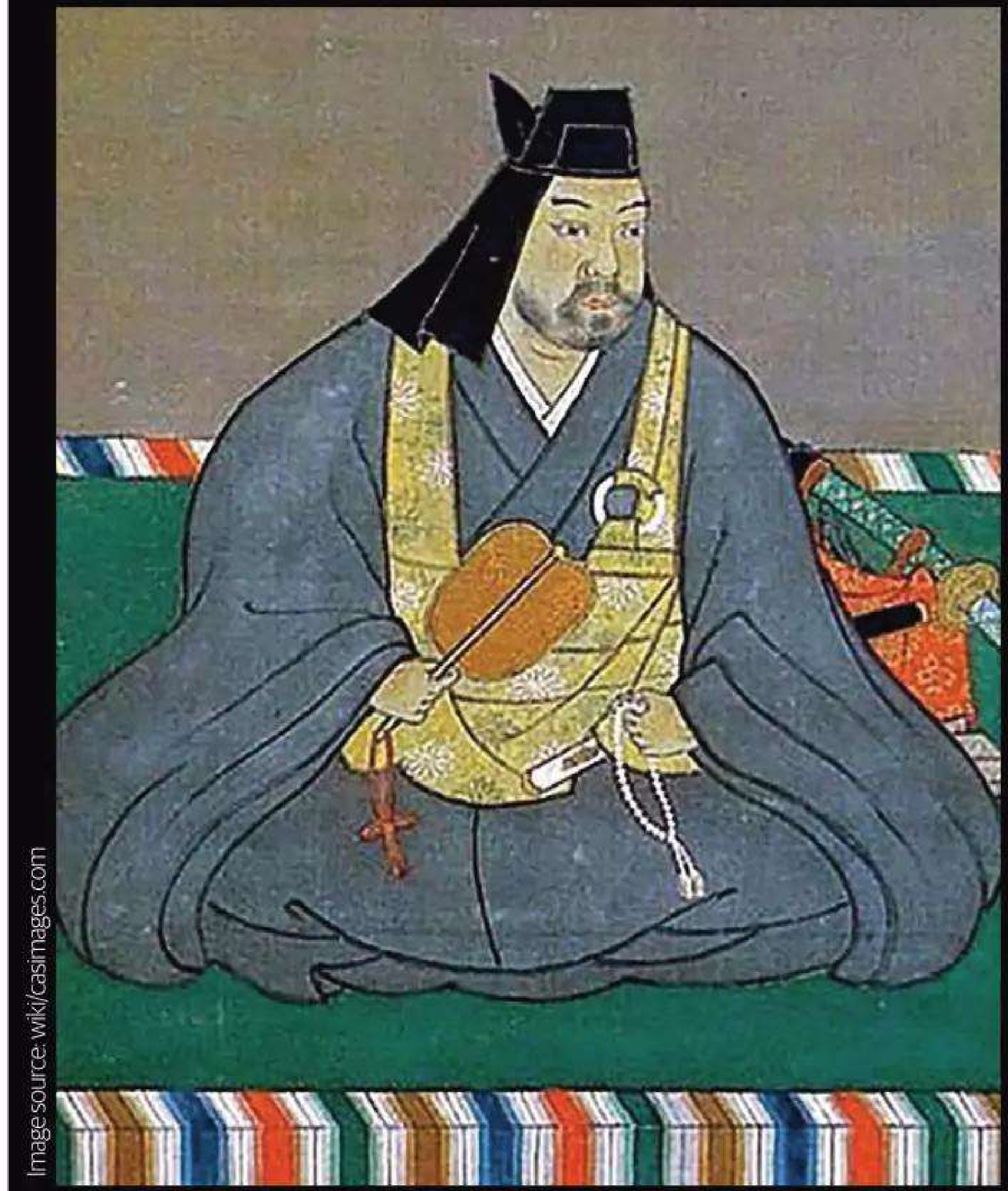


Image source: wiki/casimages.com

UESUGI KENSHIN

The daimyo of the Echigo Province was one of the most powerful figures of the Sengoku period in Japan. He has gone down in history as a highly ethical and responsible leader who not only excelled on the battlefield, but also as an administrator.

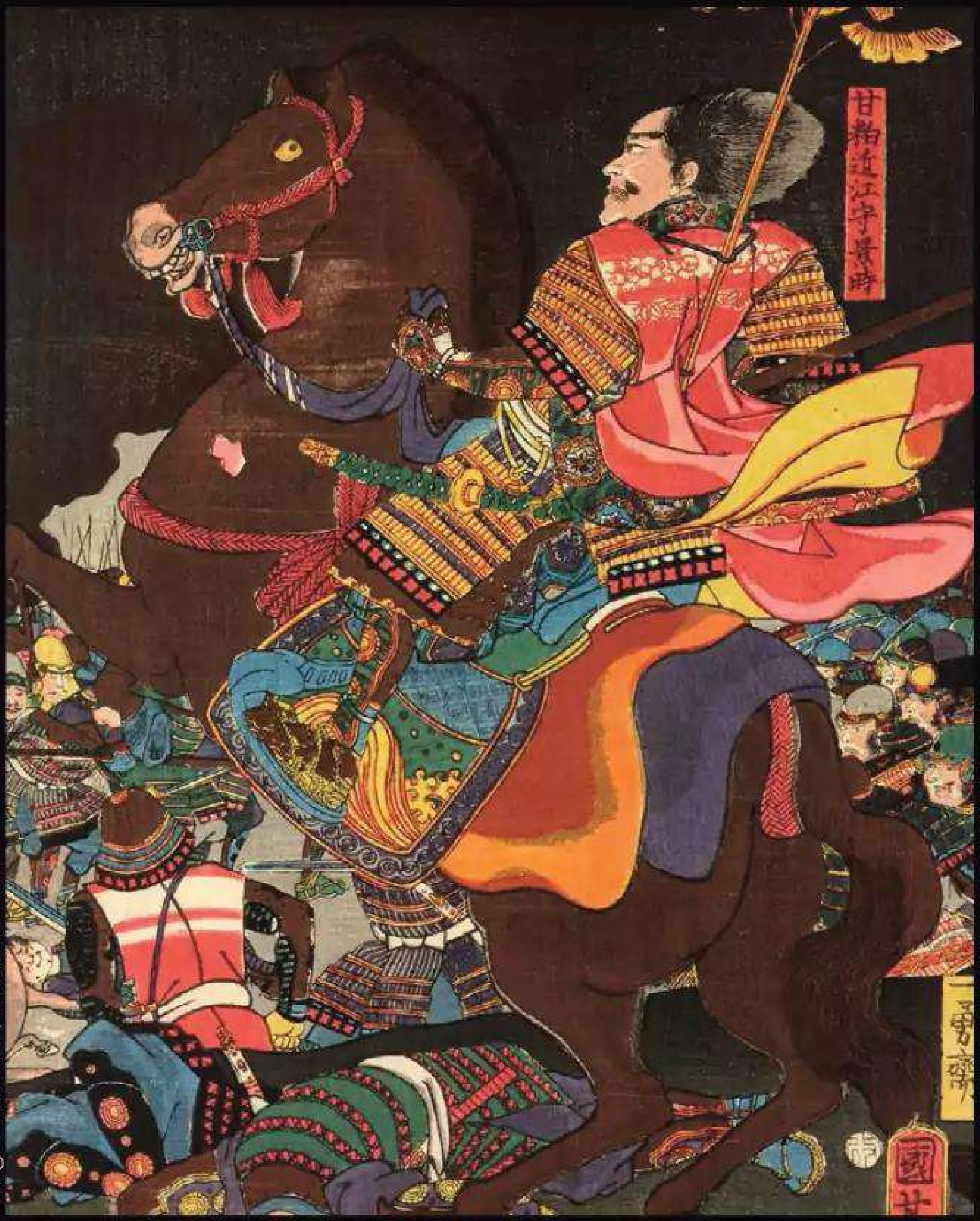


Image source: wiki/British Museum

AMAKASU KAGEMOCHI

Amakasu was one of Uesagi's most celebrated commanders and at the Battle of Kawanakajima he covered the rearguard of the clan's forces. Here he had to take on fierce Takeda clan attacks from notable warriors Kosaka Masanobu and Baba Nobufusa.

NOTHING RESOLVED

Yamamoto Kansuke led a final suicidal charge against the Uesugi in a bid to protect his master. Shingen's own brother Nobushige was killed in the ensuing combat when the Uesugi cavalry fell upon the Takeda by the river. The intensity of the showdown near the Chikuma River may have killed several thousand samurai. Such casualties were well above the usual battlefield losses during the Sengoku period, when daimyos preferred small clashes over great set piece engagements.

Neither the exhausted Takedas nor the battered Uesugis attained a clear victory on the day. Takeda Shingen returned to his province after collecting the severed heads of Uesugi samurai as trophies. But Uesugi Kenshin survived and control over the Kawanakajima plain was undecided. Two years passed before another clash occurred near the site of the fourth battle, but it proved insignificant.

Fate rendered cruel judgment on the two warlords. Takeda Shingen perished during a siege of a castle held by Oda Nobunaga, then the most powerful warlord in Japan. The Takedas' power finally ebbed after the disastrous Battle of Nagashino in 1575 when Shingen's son and heir led the clan's legions against Nobunaga and lost countless samurai to musket fire.

Uesugi fared worse. Kenshin died in suspicious circumstances aged 49. One version of his demise recounts how a ninja waited in a lavatory for his target to arrive. When the chance presented itself, a mortal wound was dealt to the Uesugi leader.

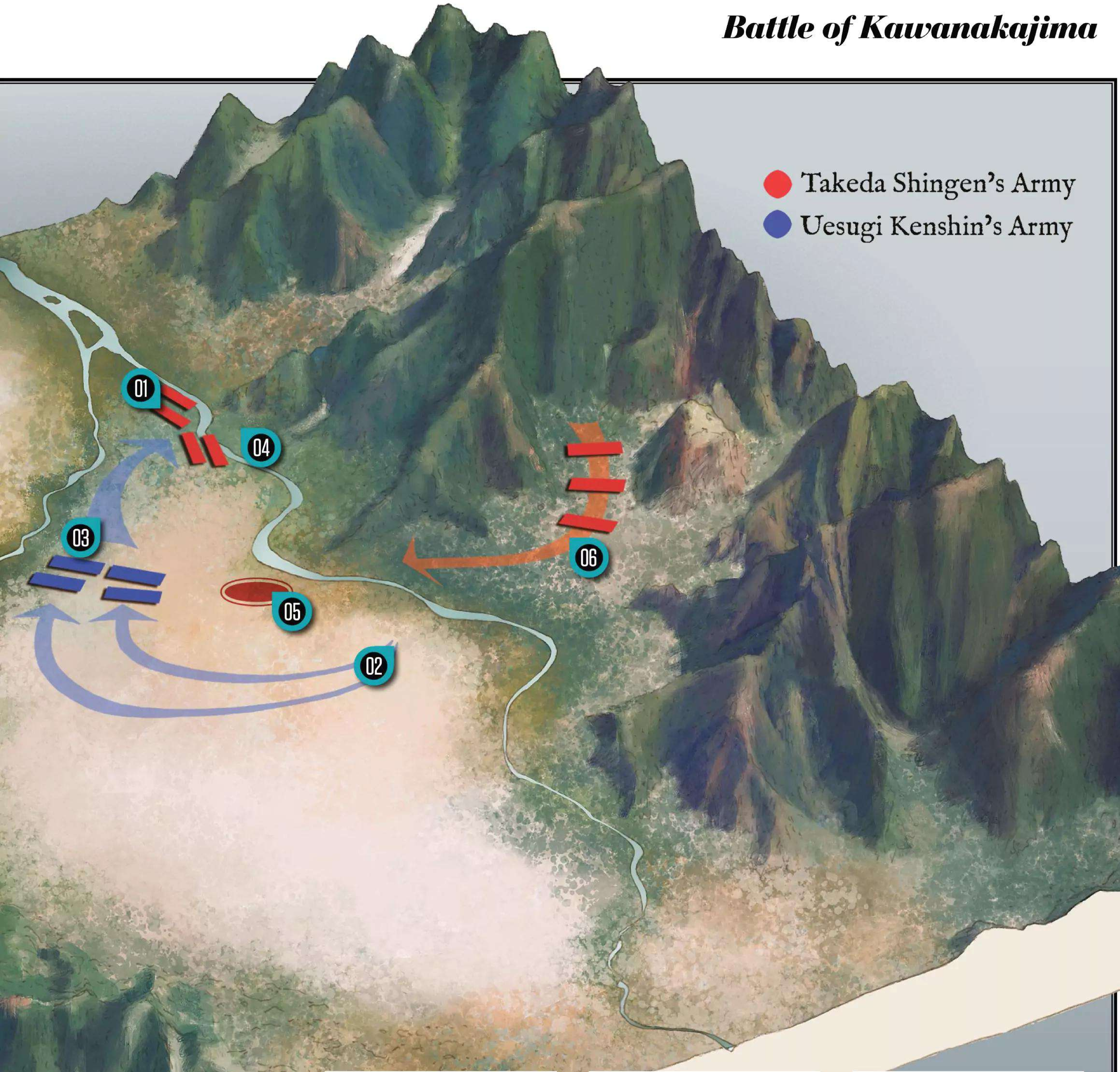
The legacy of the struggle for Kawanakajima is ambiguous at best. While it ranks among the larger engagements during the Sengoku period, it had little impact on the course of Japan's history. The rise of the warlord Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1603 marked the definitive end of the Sengoku period as another Shogunate was established. The ensuing Edo period lasted three centuries and saw a flourishing of the arts. It was in this later period when the drama and symbolism around the rivalry between the Takeda and Uesugi was popularised.

Even if it had little impact on Japan's history, the Fourth Battle of Kawanakajima is useful for the lessons it imparts. Foremost is the value of sound intelligence for leaders who must decide quickly. Whatever methods and resources were at his disposal, Uesugi Kenshin turned a disadvantageous situation around and surprised his enemy by leading his forces out of the Saijoyama heights. In the process he deceived one part of the Takeda army and launched a surprise attack on the his rival in the Kawanakajima plain. Another timeless insight is knowing when to be flexible in difficult circumstances. Takeda Shingen had been overconfident about his plan to entrap the Uesugi, but once his samurai were caught between the Chikuma River and the enemy, adaptation meant survival. The Takeda samurai did manage to hold off the Uesugis long enough to partially encircle them, but Uesugi Kenshi was wise enough to not press on and ordered a withdrawal that saved the bulk of his army.

16-17 OCT 1561
07

Image source: wiki/collections.lacma.org

Battle of Kawanakajima



01 Setting a trap

In mid-October 1561, Takeda Shingen and his favourite adviser devise a stratagem where they will fortify the edge of the Chikuma River to block the escape of Uesugi Kenshin's army from the Saijoyama heights. They hope to massacre the enemy.

02 A foiled plan

Uesugi Kenshin had guessed his rival's plans. After all, they had fought on three previous occasions in the same place. Under cover of darkness, the Uesugi cavalry travel down Saijoyama and prepared a surprise attack on the morning of 17 October.

03 A thunder of hooves

To the complete surprise and horror of Takeda Shingen's commanders, thousands of Uesugi samurai on horseback are arrayed in front of their formation on the Chikuma River. The deadly battle commences.

04 No surrender

Trapped between the Chikuma River and the fierce Uesugi samurai, Takeda's army stubbornly hold fast and refuse to be routed. But so great is the pressure on them that the combat drives the warriors to the river's edge and into the freezing current.

05 The rivals meet

Uesugi Kenshin is said to have charged Takeda Shingen's command post at this location. A legendary duel ensues where Uesegi, mounted on horseback, attempts to slash at a near helpless Takeda, who fails to reach for his own sword as Uesegi swings at him.

06 Bad timing

Takeda had sent one of his commanders, Kosaka Masonobu, up the Saijoyama heights to rout Uesugi's army. But the camp is deserted and Kosaka has to hurry down the Kawanakajima plain fearing the main Takeda forces are on the verge of a catastrophic defeat.

07 Victory?

Another battle is fought over Kawanakajima in 1564. It too has no clear winner. While Takeda Shingen holds on to his territory, his fiefdom doesn't survive the Sengoku period that sees the rise of the Tokugawa shogunate throughout the 17th century.

Map by: Rocio Espin

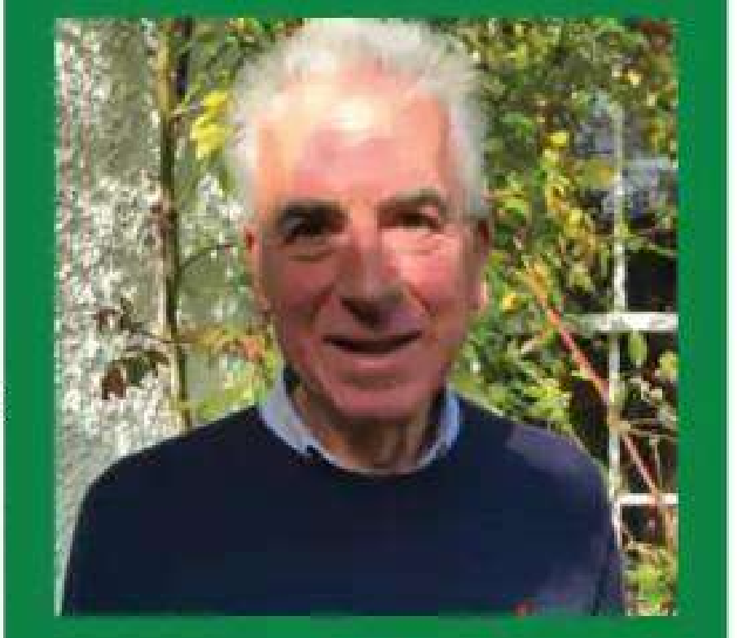
What If…

SCOTLAND AND ENGLAND HAD NOT UNIFIED?

The Act Of Union in 1707 transformed the political landscape of the British Isles, but what if it had never occurred?

Written by Callum McKelvie

INTERVIEW WITH



© Zara Milligan

IAIN MILLIGAN

A retired QC, Iain Milligan read law at Cambridge, taking silk in 1991. His book *Sovereign Of The Isles: How The British Isles Were Won By The Crown*, explores how the English won sovereignty over the British Isles and the formation of the union with Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

What are some of the key events leading up to the union between England and Scotland?

When Margaret, the Maid of Norway and uncrowned queen of Scotland, died in 1290, she had been betrothed to the future King Edward II of England. Had she not died, centuries of warfare between Scotland and England might have been forestalled. As it was, in 1503 a temporary lull in the hostilities was brought about by the Treaty of Perpetual Peace between James IV of Scotland and Henry VII of England – pursuant to which Henry's daughter, Margaret Tudor, was married to James. This set the first scene of the union between the kingdoms.

A century later and after further hostilities, the great-grandson of that marriage, James VI, already king of Scotland, succeeded to the throne of England [as James I] on the death of his cousin, Elizabeth I. As a king with two crowns, James realised immediately that it would be expedient for the two kingdoms to be united. To that end a treaty was concluded the following year, however neither parliament ever gave unconditional effect to it.

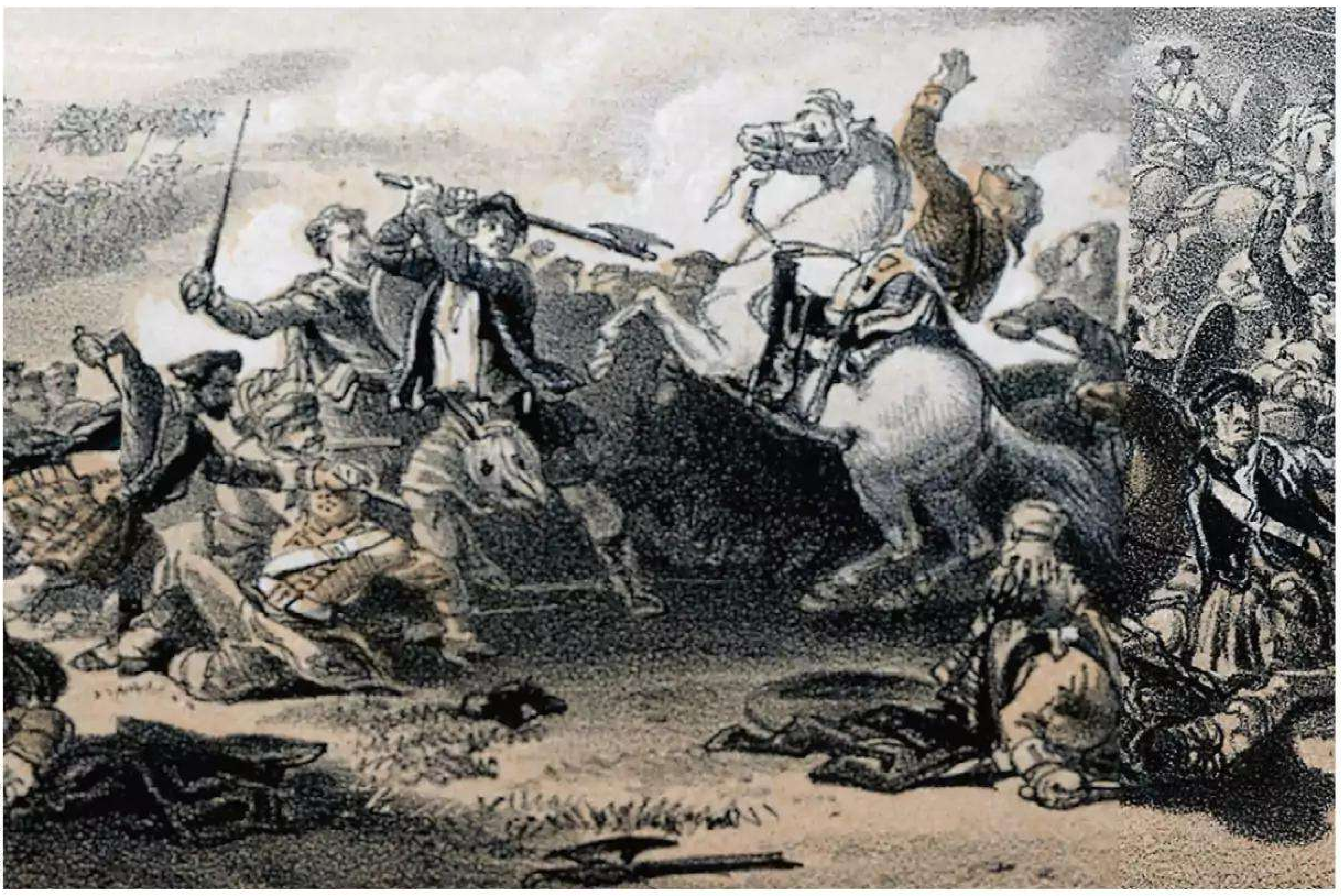
Although James VI and I was a Protestant, his grandson [James II] had converted to Roman Catholicism by the time he succeeded in 1685. To thwart the threat of a Catholic dynasty, a cabal of conspirators persuaded the king's Protestant son-in-law, William of Orange, to invade England. The following year, after James II had fled with his court to France, William and his wife, Mary – also a Protestant – were established by the parliaments of both kingdoms as king and queen. This was specifically on terms that no Catholic should ever succeed to the throne of either kingdom.

In 1702 Mary's Protestant sister, Anne, succeeded to both thrones. By 1706 economically Scotland was on its knees. This was partly because its principal trading partners had for some years been at war with England and the targets of English blockades, partly because of anticompetitive English legislation, and partly because of the disastrous failure of Scotland's Darien venture in the Caribbean. But as tensions escalated between the two kingdoms, the Scottish parliament arrogated to itself the power to make war or peace and to nominate the successor to the Scottish throne.

Union between the two kingdoms was seen to be the solution to Scotland's hopeless economic condition and England's fear of a divergence between the crowns or – worse still – a Catholic dynasty in Scotland.

What were the immediate effects of unification on Scotland?

On the plus side, the Scottish economy was given a new lease of life. The Articles Of Union removed all barriers to trade between the two former kingdoms;



© Getty Images

RIGHT Illustration of the Battle of Prestonpans during the second Jacobite rebellion

Main image sources: © Getty Images

Peat
Bogs
DUBLIN
IRISH
SEA
T. GEORGE'S
CHANNEL
CAMBRIAN
MTS.
MINING
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REGIO
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SOVEREIGN
of the
ISLES
How the Crown
Won the British Isles
Iain Milligan

Sovereign Of The Isles **by Iain Milligan, is out now from Unicorn Publishing priced at £25**

THE PAST

1503

MARRIAGE OF MARGARET TUDOR

The marriage between Margaret Tudor and James IV on 8 August 1503 would be seen as the foundation stone for the unification that would occur two centuries later. Margaret was only 13 while James IV was 30 and had a history with many mistresses previously. Supposedly Margaret never quite adjusted to the more boisterous Scottish court ,but would bear James six children. Following his death she married twice more and would become involved in numerous power struggles.

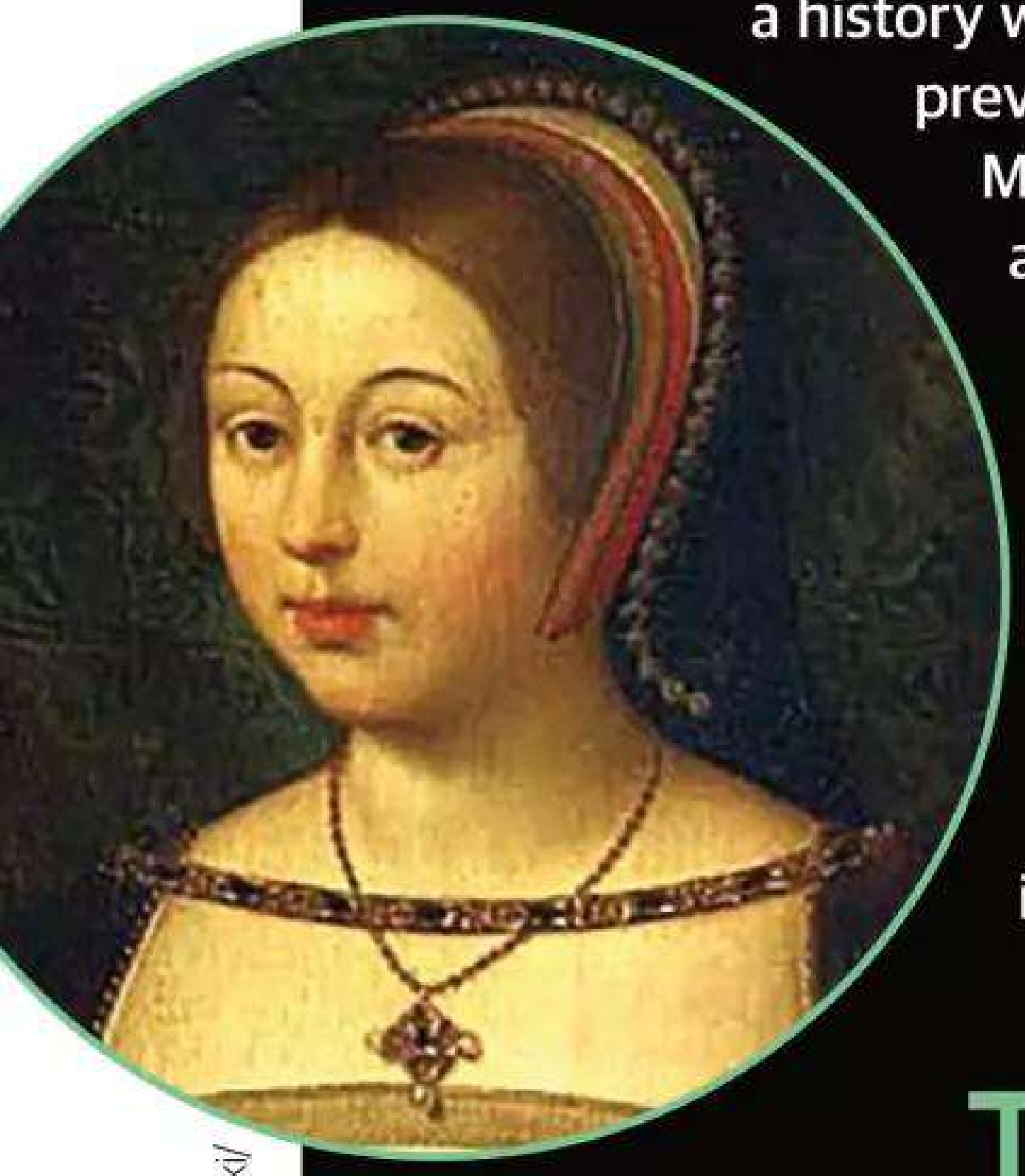


Image source: wiki/ Royal Collection

1701-14

WAR OF THE SPANISH SUCCESSION

Following the death of Charles II, Spain was left without an heir to its throne. A treaty had been signed by England, the Dutch Republic and France dictating that Prince Joseph Ferdinand should inherit Spain. However, due to his death, a second treaty was signed but this too failed, with the result being that France invaded the Spanish Netherlands. An anti-French alliance was formed, with Scotland fighting alongside England against her old and trusted ally, France.

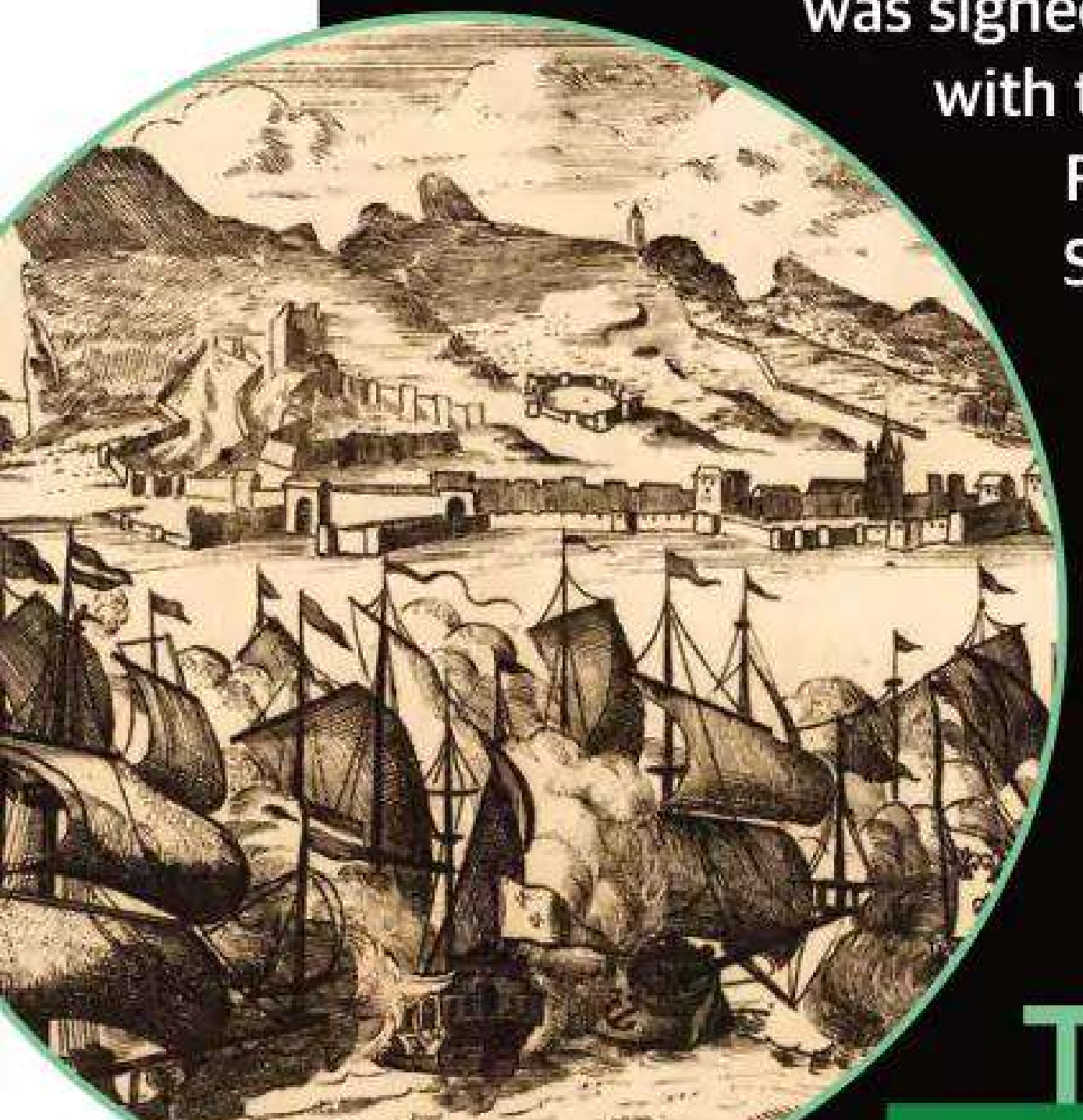


Image source: wiki/ Antique Maps of Spain

1960s

OIL IN THE NORTH SEA

The discovery of North Sea oil was made in the 1960s, with the first well drilled in 1967. A much more significant find was made in 1969, when Amoco's Montrose field was drilled. It was not until 1975 that the first North Sea oil came ashore, arriving at Cruden Bay in Aberdeenshire. At one point, some 80 wells were being drilled simultaneously. The distribution of oil revenues remains controversial.

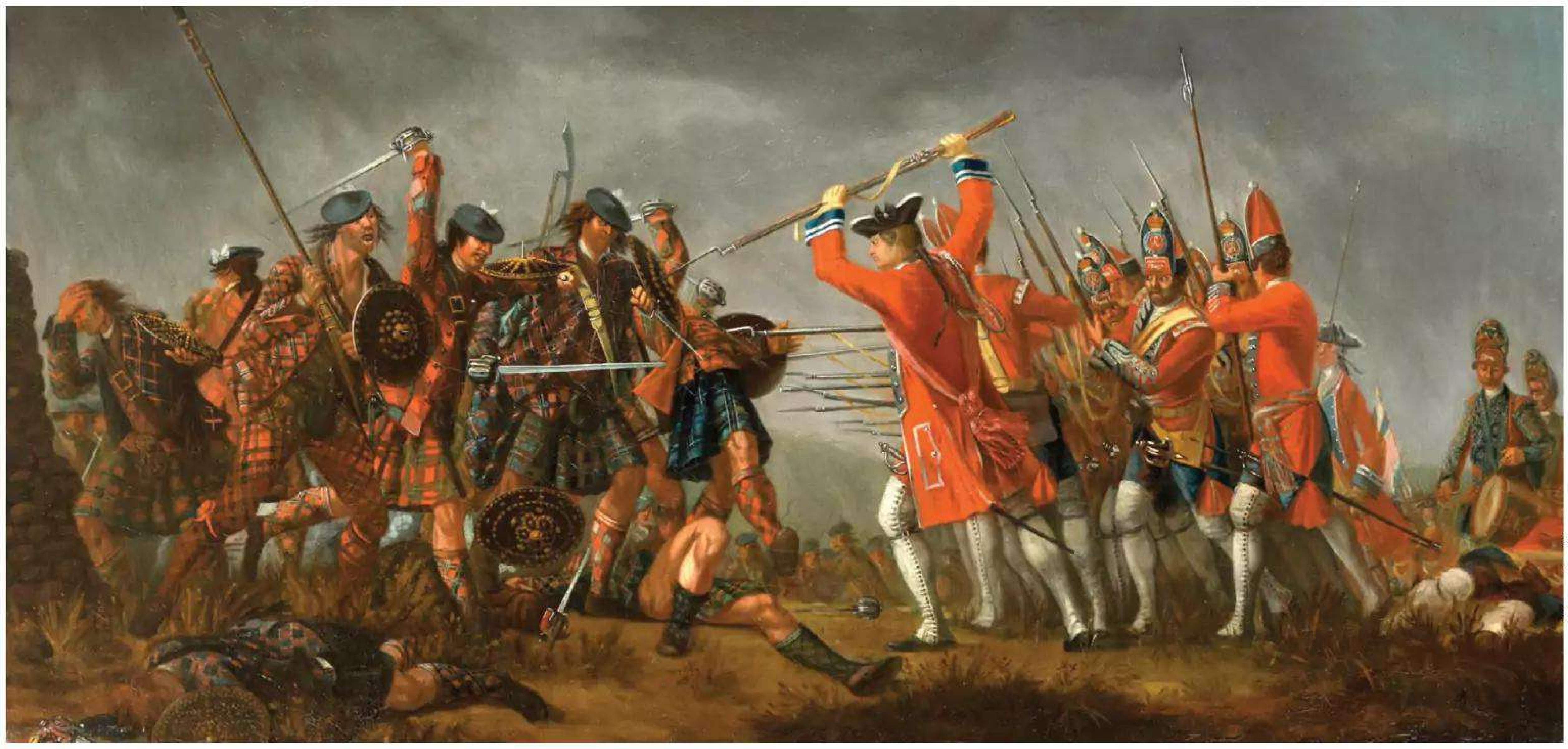
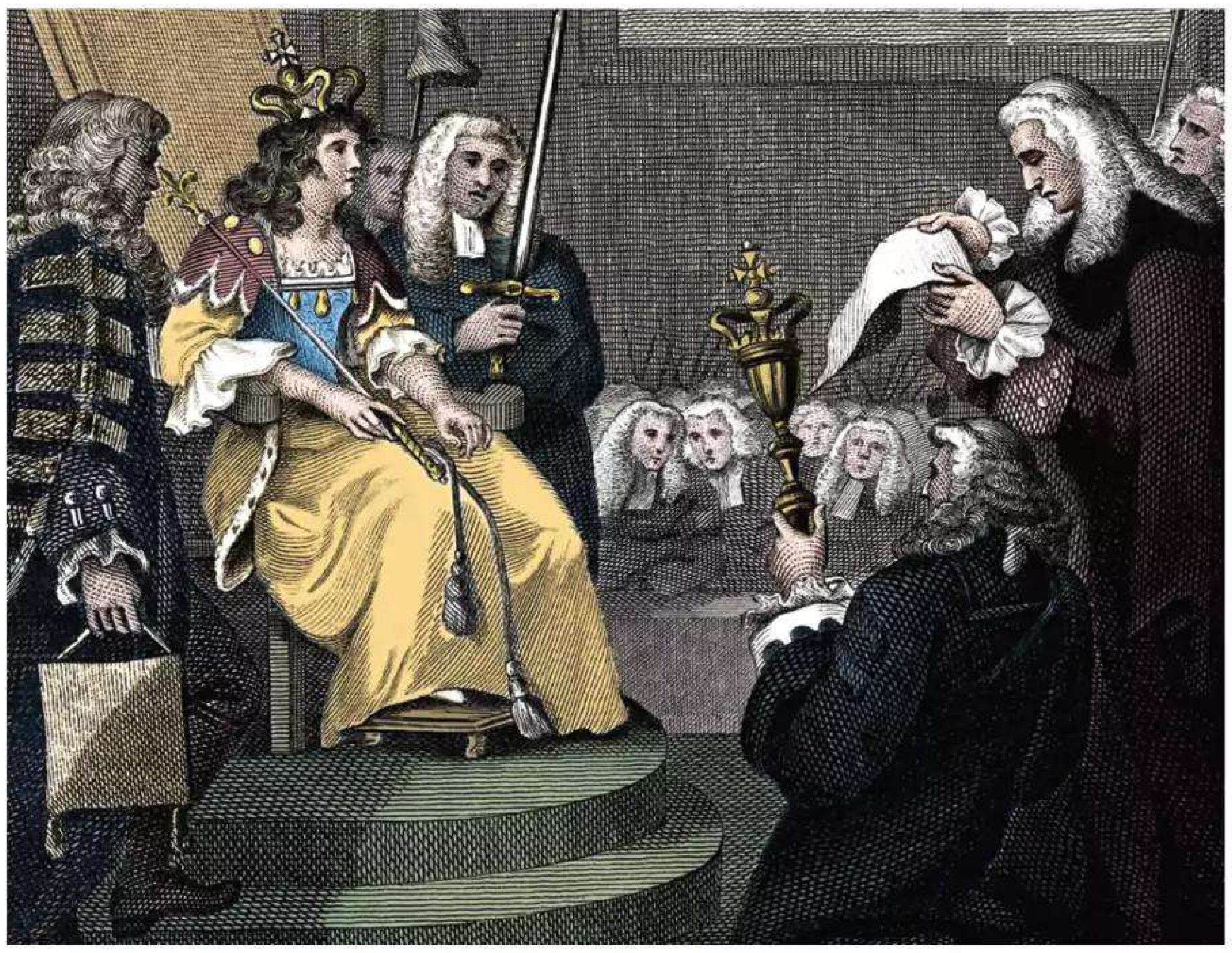


Image source: wiki/ Royal Collection Trust



TOP The defeat of the Jacobites at the Battle Of Culloden

ABOVE The Act of Union is read before Queen Anne

made substantial economic concessions to the Scots; compensated them for the standardisation of the coinage, the colossal losses of the Darien Scheme and the public debts of the Scottish Crown; and provided subsidies for various commercial enterprises.

On the minus side, the Scots were saddled with a Protestant king or queen according to the English rules of succession and were at war with their oldest ally, France, as part of the War Of The Spanish Succession.

Moving forward through successive centuries, what were some of the later effects?

Dissatisfaction with the Union among many of the Scots, particularly in the Highlands and among both Catholics and Episcopalians, found expression in the Jacobite risings of 1708, 1715/16, 1719 and 1745/46. The first was derailed by Louis XIV of France countermanding support at the last moment; the second fizzled out following defeat by Government forces at Sheriffmuir; the third ended in defeat in Glenshiel; and the fourth ended in carnage on Culloden Moor at the hands of the duke of Cumberland.

The defeat of the Jacobites at Culloden established the sovereignty of the Protestant House of Hanover once and for all, but did nothing to quell dissatisfaction with the Union. However, enthusiasm to end the Union was kept in check by a variety of circumstances. First, a massive expansion of the armed forces recruited initially from the Highlands and then more generally to fight three great wars: the Seven Years' War in Europe and North America (1756-63), the American War of Independence (1775-83) and the Napoleonic Wars (1793-1815). This gave employment to many who might otherwise have been disenchanted, particularly due to the clearance of the population of the Highlands to give the land over to sheep. Secondly, widespread emigration to exploit the opportunities in the rapidly growing British Empire or to escape the poverty at home meant that the emigrants had little further interest in the Union. Thirdly, until the passing of the Scottish Reform Act in 1832, political power lay principally with the landed gentry who tended to be supportive of the Union. However, by 1885 the franchise in Scotland had been expanded to include many of the working class.

The first concrete signs of Scottish nationalism emerged, starting with the founding of the National Association For The Vindication Of Scottish Rights in 1853, and culminating with the devolution of power to the Scottish Parliament in 1998.

What could some of the immediate national implications have been had unification not occurred?

James VII and II had died in 1701 and, but for the terms on which William and

Mary had been accepted as king and queen of both kingdoms, he would have been succeeded by his son, James Edward Stuart, known as the Old Pretender. On the death of Queen Anne in 1714, had the two kingdoms not been united there was every chance that the Old Pretender would have been acclaimed as James VIII of Scotland, particularly if he had abandoned his Catholic faith or his supporters had shown more initiative than they did.

However, James VIII would have been the king of an impoverished nation. It would not have enjoyed the prosperity which it subsequently enjoyed as a commercial and industrial powerhouse of the British Empire. And the growth of its economy would almost certainly have been stifled by tariffs on what in the event was its burgeoning trade with England and the English colonies.

However, all of that would have changed dramatically with the discovery of oil in the North Sea in the middle of the last century. On whatever approach had been adopted to define the boundary between the territorial seas of Scotland and England had they not been united, something of the order of 90% of the United Kingdom's oil resources in the North Sea would have been Scottish. Although it is a much-debated subject, the Scots might have been significantly better off had they not shared the oil and all other revenues with the rest of the United Kingdom under the Barnett Formula.

Since the Union, there have so far been 11 prime ministers of Great Britain who hailed from Scotland, starting with the earl of Bute in 1762 and ending with Gordon Brown in 2010. Without the Union, what would have happened? The players on what would have been two different political stages would undoubtedly have been very different.

What could some of the wider global implications have been had unification between Scotland and England not occurred (both immediate and later in history)?

What became known as the Seven Years' War broke out in North America in 1754 and in Europe in 1756. Pitted against each other were Great Britain and France battling for supremacy. Had there been no Union between Scotland and England, it is likely that Scotland would have renewed her Auld Alliance with France, just as the Jacobites had done in 1745. With the Scots on the opposite side and at England's back door, the outcome might have been very different. Much of North America might well have become a French colony and there might never have been a War of Independence or even the United States.

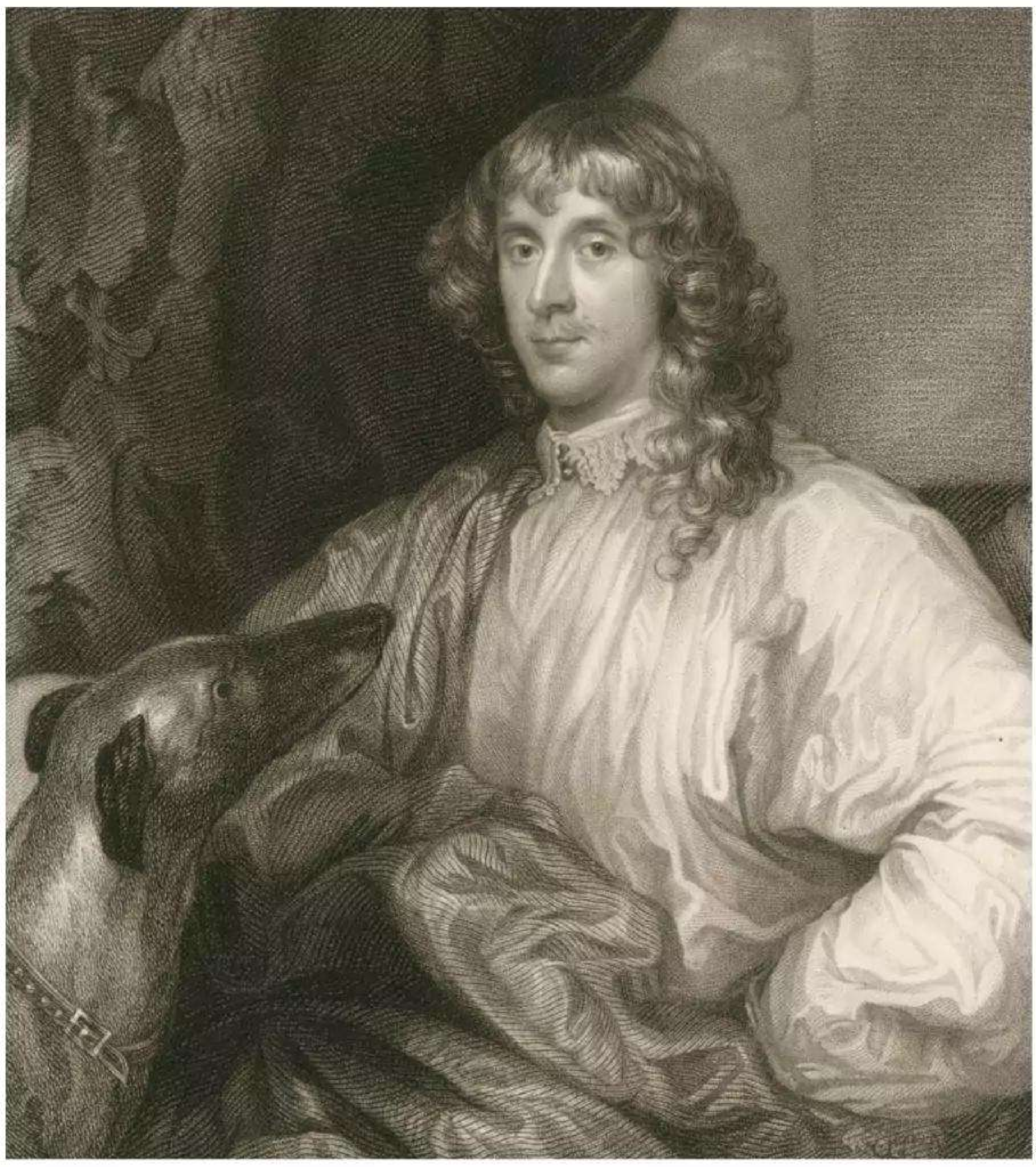
> "Come World War II, would the Scots have been neutral like the Irish?"

In 1793, in the wake of the French Revolution, France declared war on Great Britain. Had there been no Union, the Scots might well have allied themselves with France. What would have happened at the Battle of Waterloo had there been no charge – famously depicted – of the Royal Scots Greys? Or if the charge been directed at the English forces rather than the French?

Come World War II, would the Scots have been neutral, like the Irish, with a similar sense of resentment against England? With the fall of France in 1940, leaving England standing alone against Germany in Europe, would Hitler have had the courage of his convictions about Operation Sealion and invaded England? Or even invaded Scotland – like Belgium, notwithstanding its neutrality – as a stepping stone to England?

Scotland, as an independent state, would almost certainly have joined the European Economic Community in 1973 and, like Ireland, would have freed itself from the dependence of its trade on England and prospered greatly, possibly even becoming a net contributor to the EU budget in 2013 on the back of its oil revenues.

BELOW
John Stuart, the 3rd Earl of Bute was the first Scottish-born Prime Minister of Britain following the Act of Union



© Getty Images

THE POSSIBILITY

1815

THE SCOTS GREYS AT WATERLOO

The Scots Greys was a cavalry regiment that unusually carried infantry weapons such as muskets and pistols. The Greys most famous moment came at the Battle of Waterloo. Having missed the action at the Battle of Quatre Bras the night before, the Greys were dismayed to discover they were being kept in reserve. Witnessing the fellow Scots brigade, the 92nd Gordon Highlanders, retreating, Lieutenant Colonel James Inglis Hamilton ordered his men to attack. As the Greys fell upon their enemy, Sergeant Charles Ewart was even able to seize a French Imperial Eagle standard. One wonders the effect had the Scots Greys been on the side of the French...

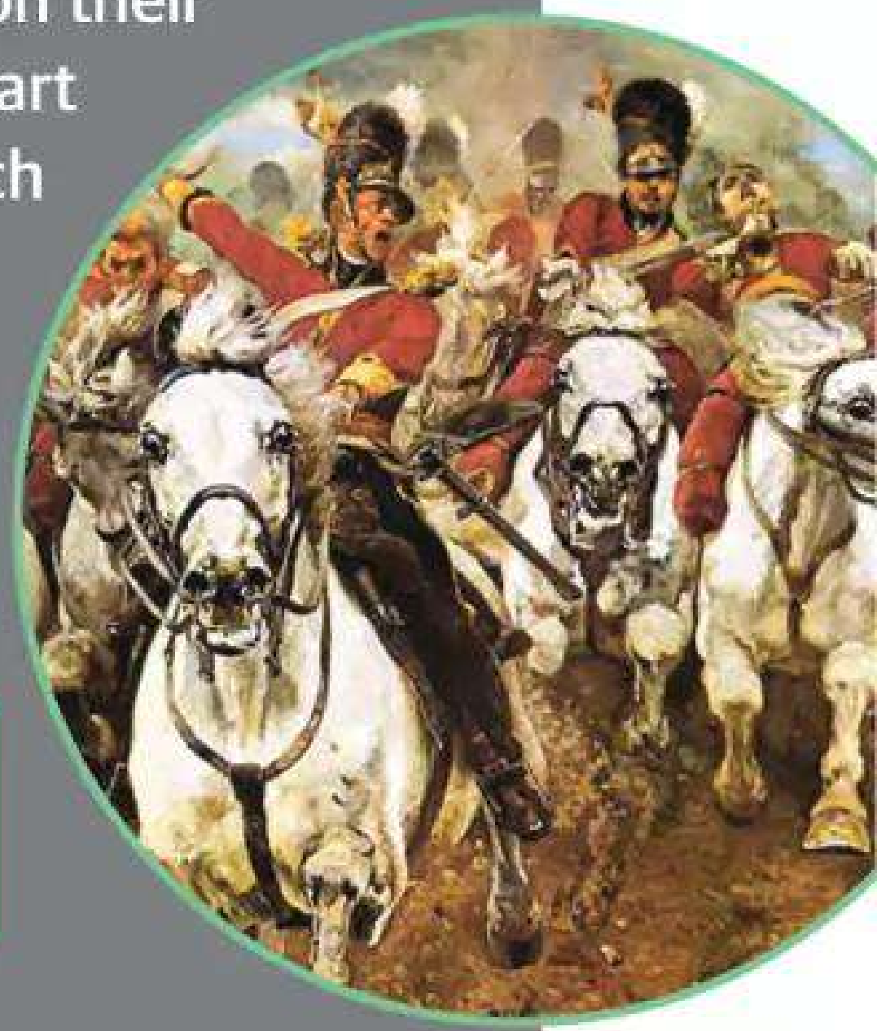


Image source: wiki/ Visual Oblivion

1939-45

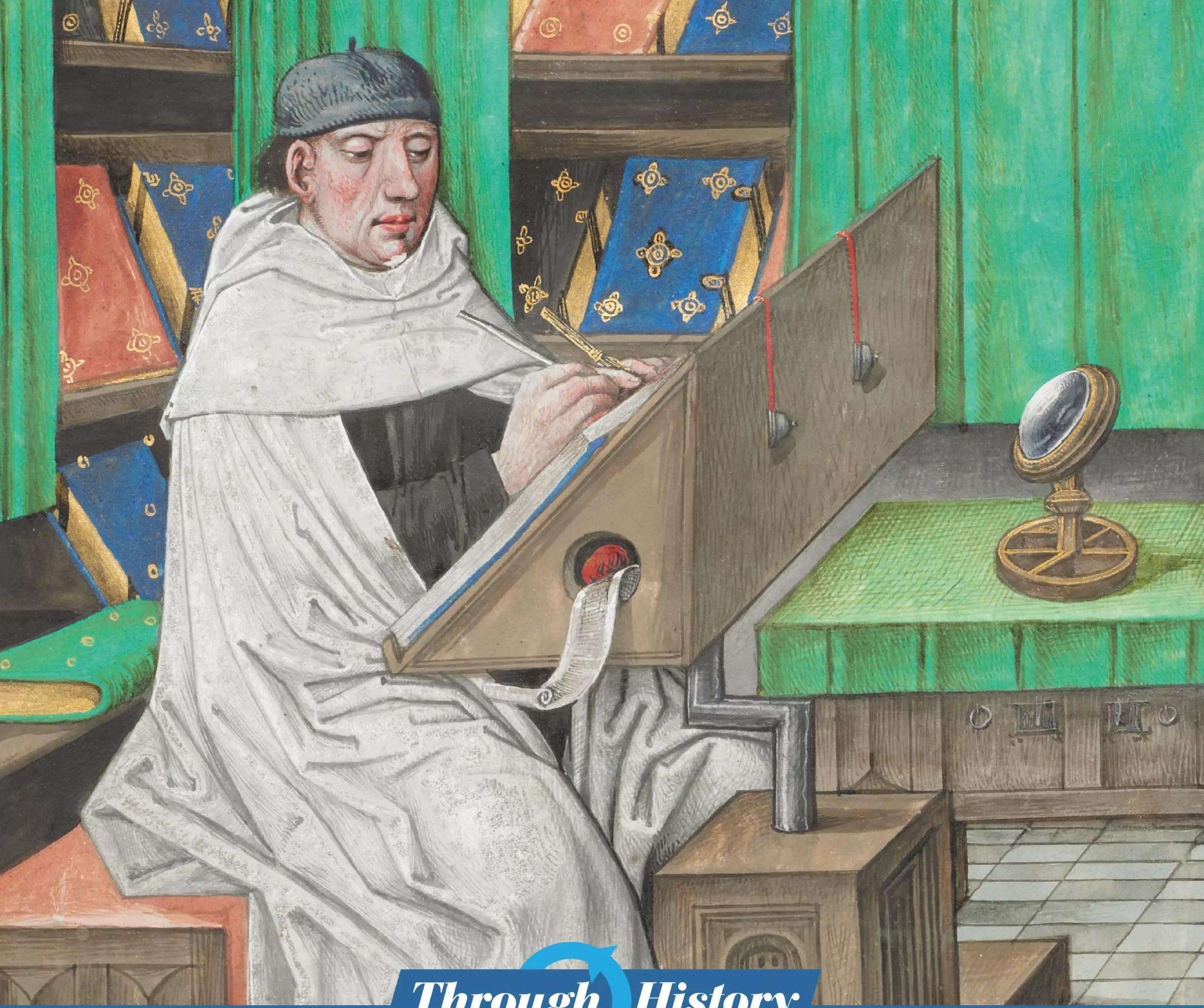
A NEUTRAL SCOTLAND?

At the outbreak of WWII Ireland had been independent for only 17 years. With a number of its own internal security problems as well as economic issues, Ireland remained neutral for the entire duration of the conflict. With the fall of France in 1940, Britain's attitude to Ireland hardened further and a supply squeeze was felt by the country. Following this, Britain then cut fuel supplies and the German air force bombed the country. Is it possible that an independent Scotland would've been neutral too? And could it have been used as a springboard for a Nazi invasion of Britain?

2020

NO SCOTTISH PMS

11 British prime ministers have so far hailed from Scotland. The first was John Stuart, the 3rd Earl of Bute (also the first Tory) who led Parliament between 1762 and 1763. He was followed by William Ewart Gladstone (born in Liverpool, but to Scottish parents), who was prime minister no less than four times, James Ramsay MacDonald, and most recently Gordon Brown. An independent Scotland would have meant that none of these men would have been MPs in Westminster, let alone leaders of their respective parties in Parliament. This could have had a massive impact on the eras of history each of them were integral to shaping as prime minister.



Through History

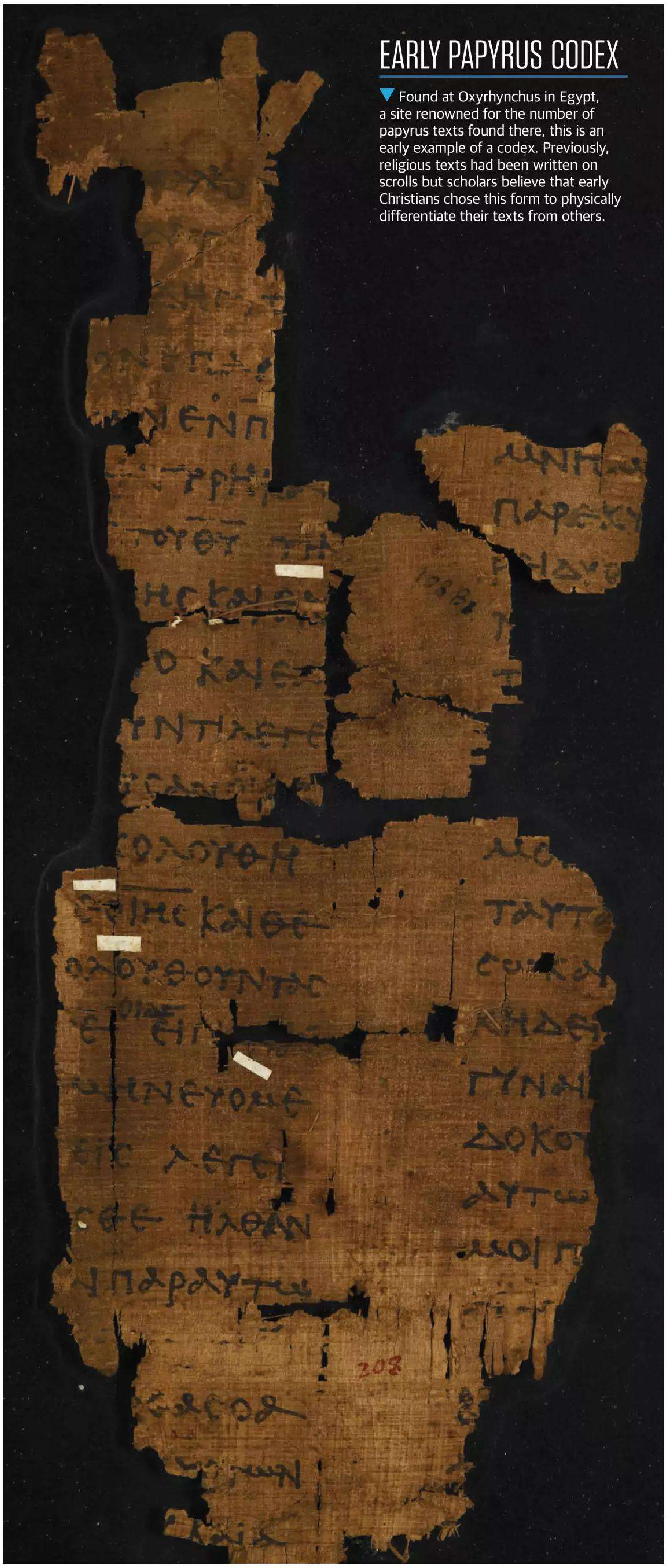
THE ART OF MEDIEVAL CALLIGRAPHY

How illumination and typography brought life to these incredible texts

All images: © The British Library

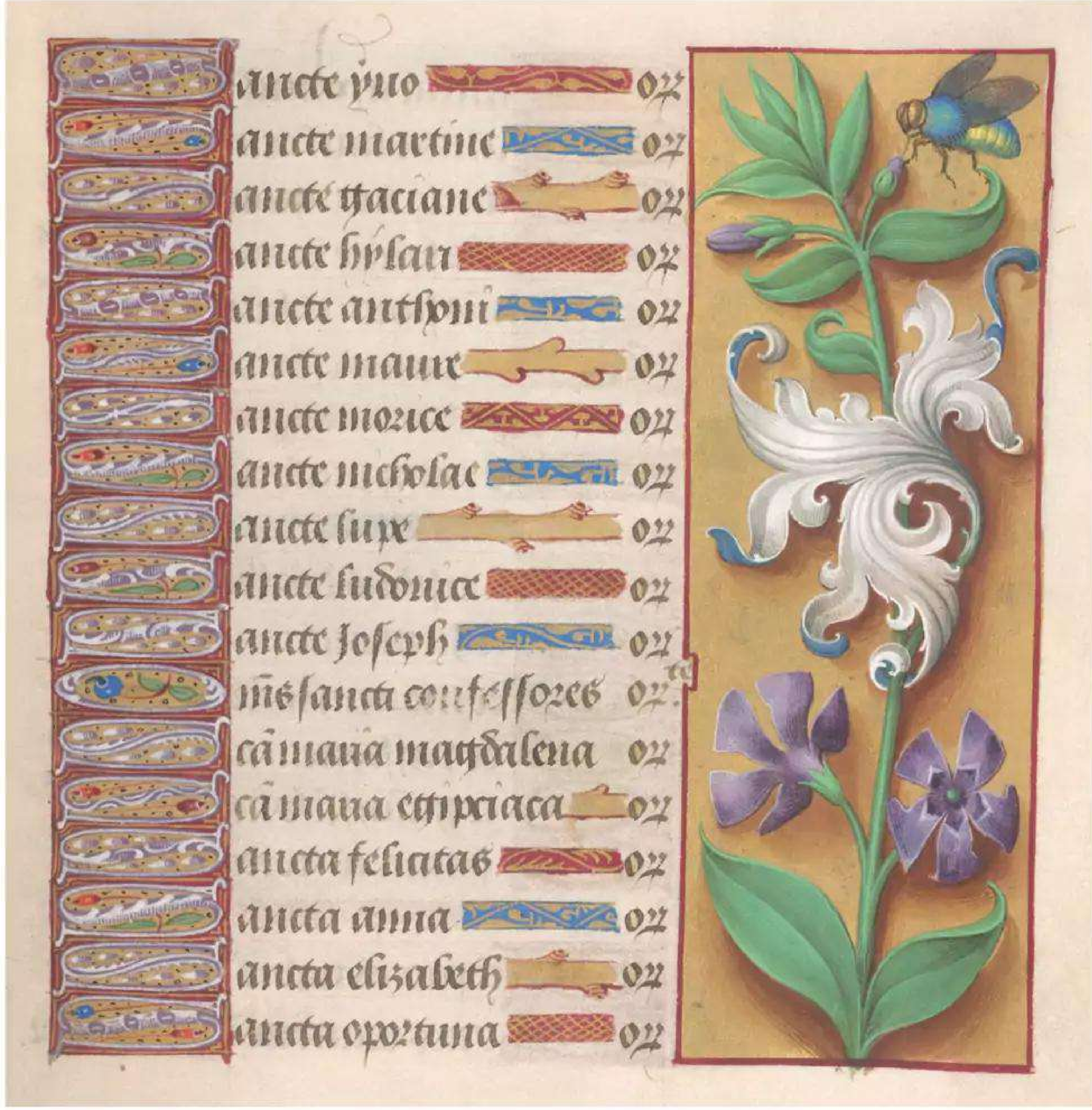
If the purpose of writing is to communicate, then the simplest, most legible lettering would perhaps be expected. Yet calligraphy (the art of decorative writing) and illumination (ornamenting a page or letter with designs) has captured artists' imaginations for centuries. The form has its roots in Roman history and the development of Roman cursive script, but Asian calligraphy has an even richer history. In China, some early examples exist pre-200 BCE but in 220 BCE, Emperor Qin Shi Huang imposed a standardised form following his unification of China. Towards the end of the 19th century, calligraphy received something of a modern revival when craftsman Edward Johnston taught courses and published books such as *Writing, Illuminating And Lettering* in 1906. His legacy can still be seen today in the Johnston Typeface font which he designed for the distinctive London Underground signs. However, the illuminated manuscripts of medieval Europe are perhaps some of the most famous and it is those that we primarily highlight here.

The British Library is now celebrating the form's rich and expansive history with a paperback edition of *The Art & History Of Calligraphy* by Patricia Lovett. Available in October her book includes an incredible collection of examples, from the medieval to more contemporary works.



EARLY PAPYRUS CODEX

▼ Found at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt, a site renowned for the number of papyrus texts found there, this is an early example of a codex. Previously, religious texts had been written on scrolls but scholars believe that early Christians chose this form to physically differentiate their texts from others.

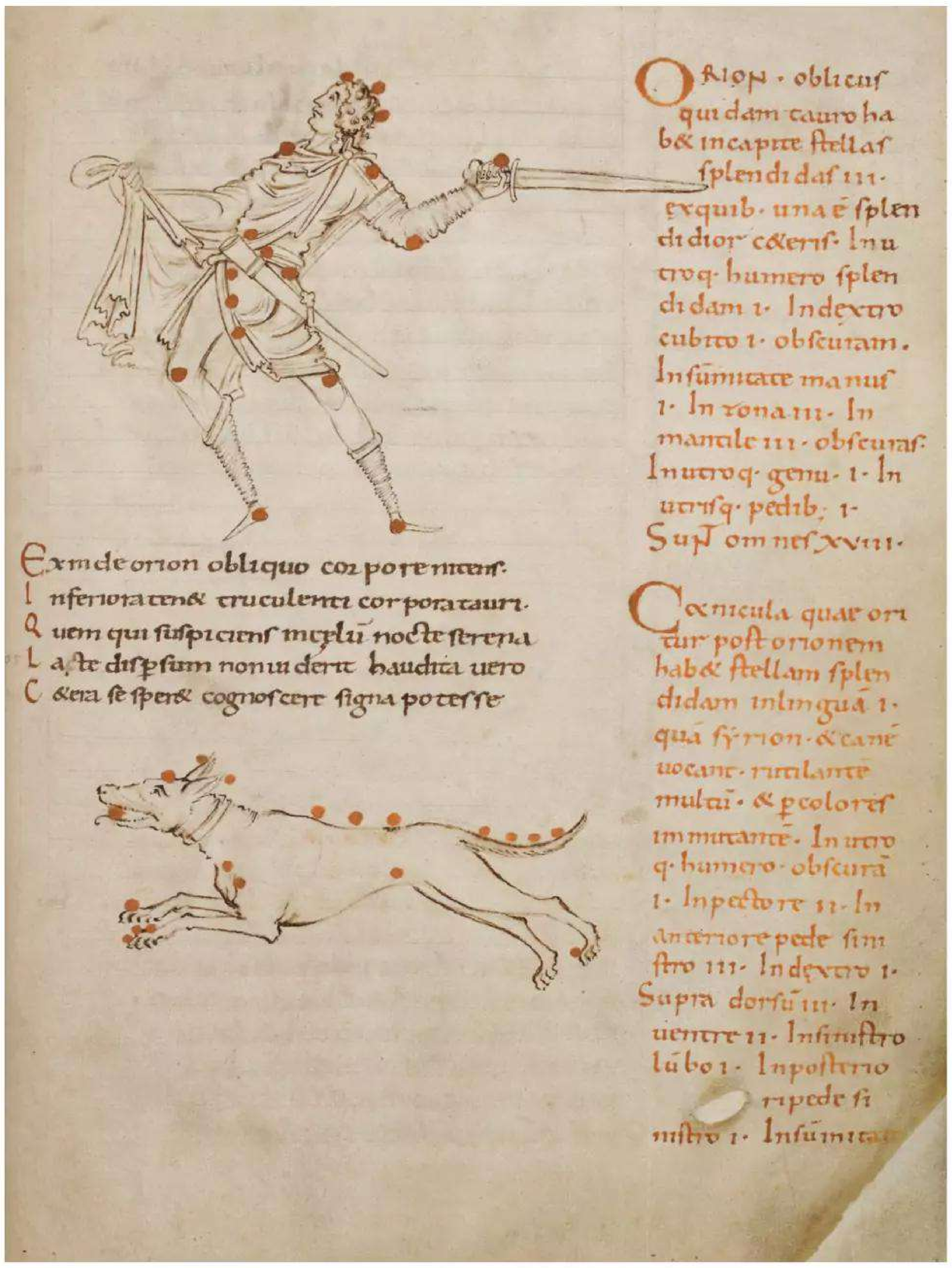


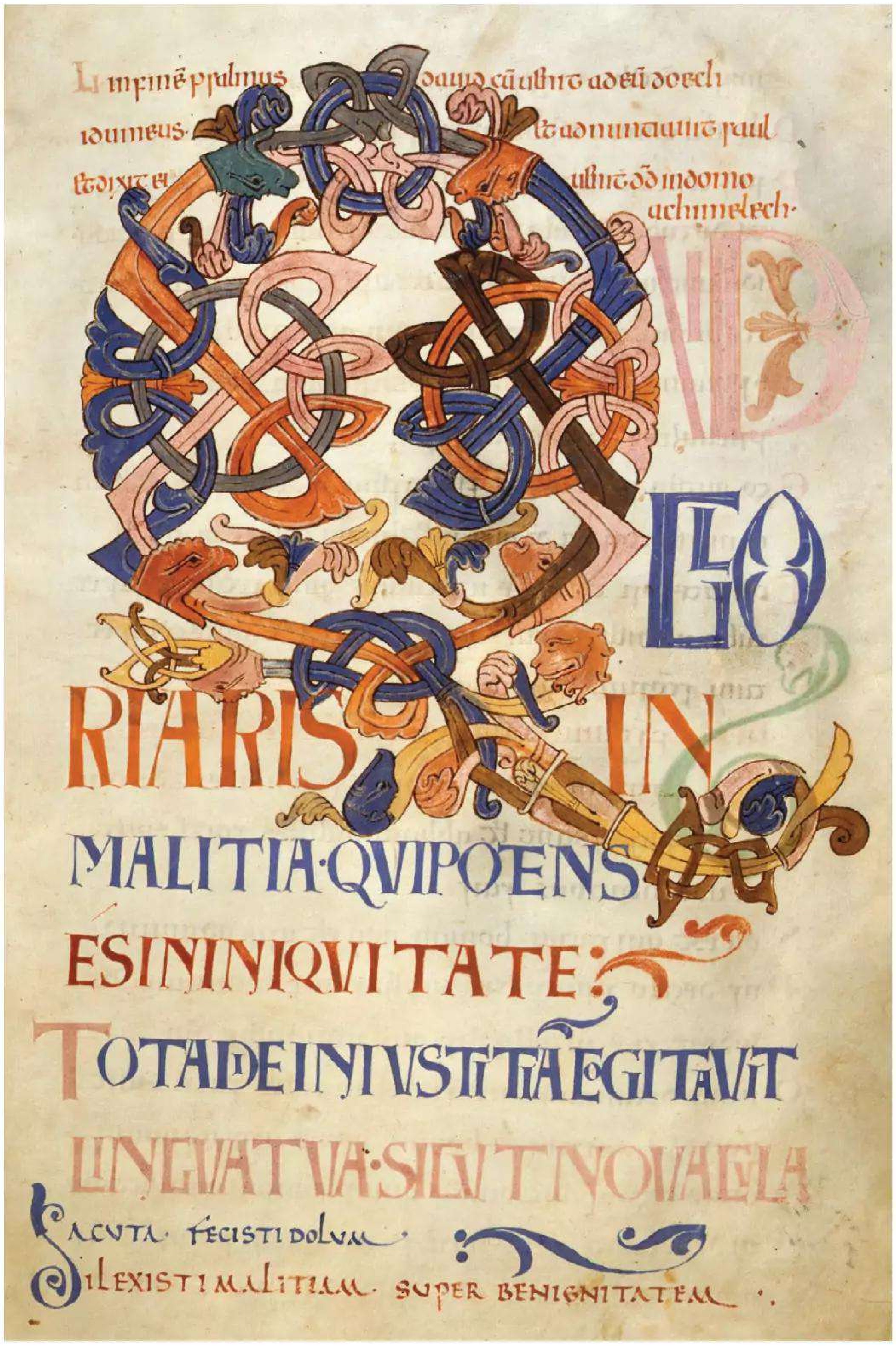
HOURS OF LOUIS XII/ HOURS OF HENRY VII

▲ This item from the 15th century features a truly magnificent border design with detailed flowers. It's also a particularly fine example of Gothic Cursive lettering, with each letter having a large amount of detail and care in its construction.

ASTRONOMICAL COMPILATION

▼ This illustration shows Orion, the constellation depicted as a Giant hunter pushed into the skies by Zeus. Below, his hunting dog is featured, composed of relatively few strokes. The dots indicate the position of the stars.





RIARIS IN

MALITIA·QVIPOENS

ESINIQVITATE:

TOTADEINIVSTITIAEGITAVIT

LINGVATVA·SICVTNOVACVLA

ACVTA FECISTI DOLVM

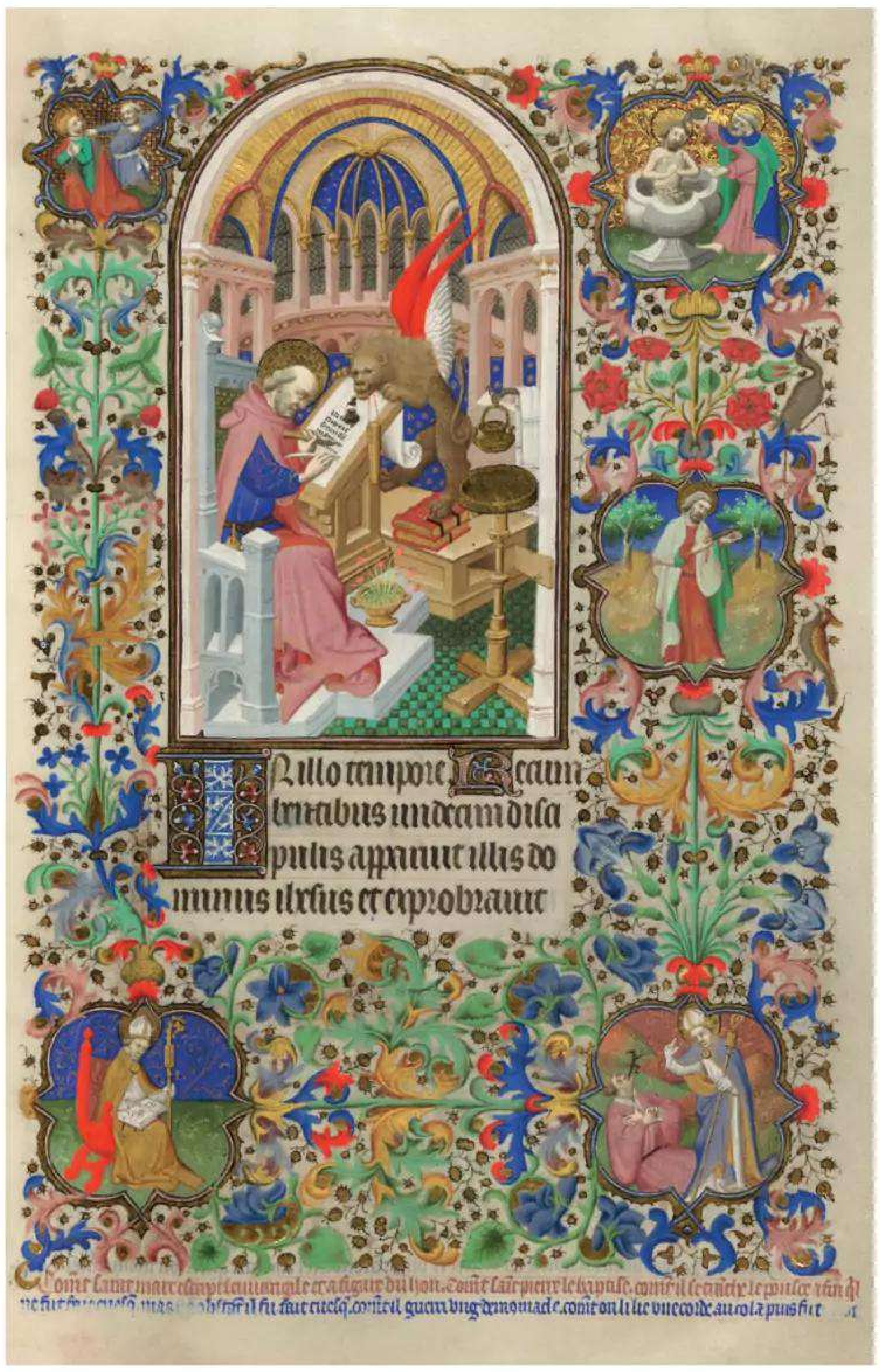
SILEXISTI MALITIAM. SUPER BENIGNITATEM

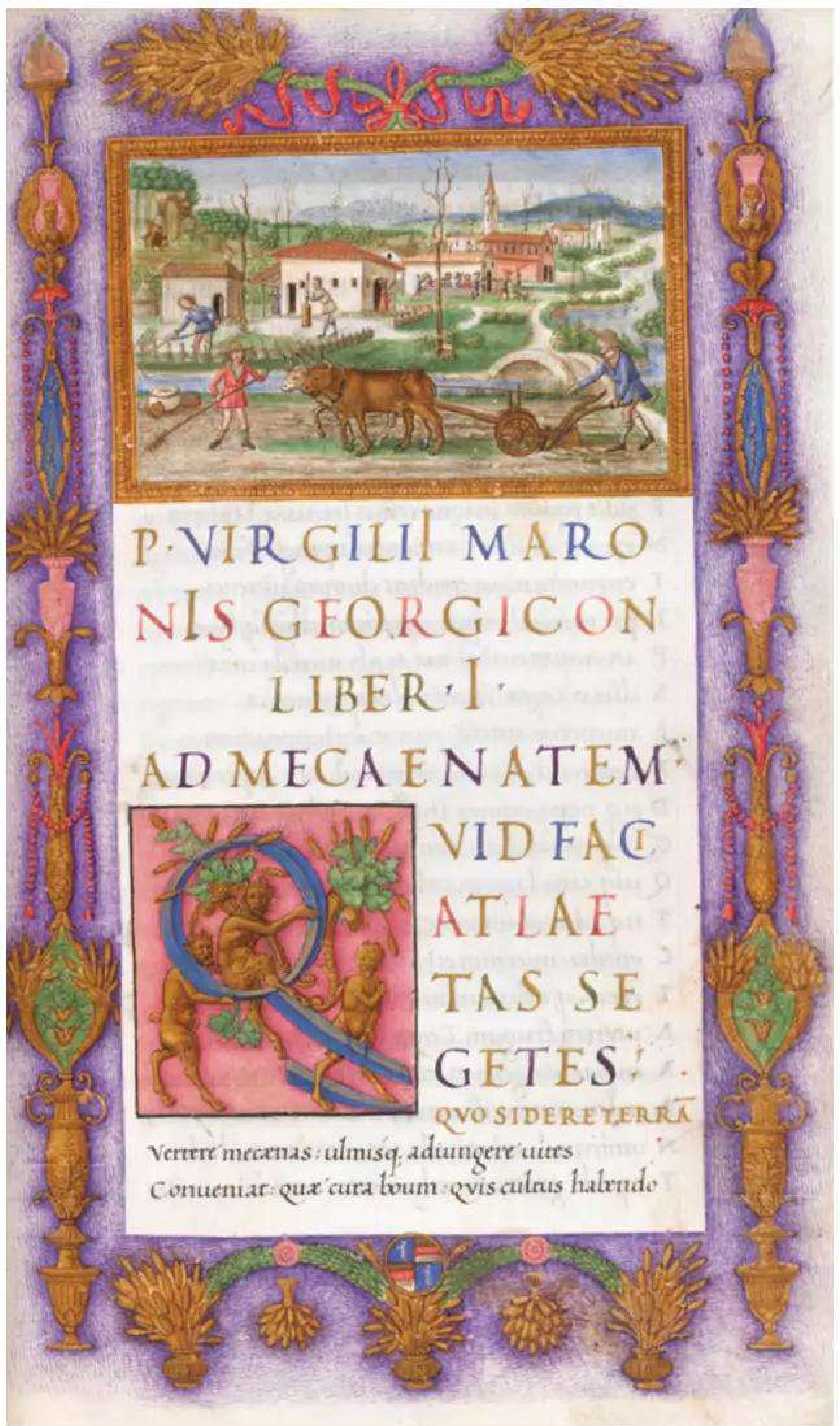
BOSWORTH PSALTER

◀ This particular manuscript features beautifully illustrated lettering, including this letter 'Q' made up of an interlacing pattern with carefully drawn animal heads. The text was once owned by Thomas Cranmer (1489-1556), Archbishop of Canterbury, who played a key role in the English Reformation.

THE BEDFORD HOURS

▶ This illustration is taken from the *Bedford Hours*, a lush and most-likely royal manuscript from France in the 15th century. Later the manuscript was owned by John of Lancaster and various additions were made to make it more personal to him, including portraits of himself praying to St George.





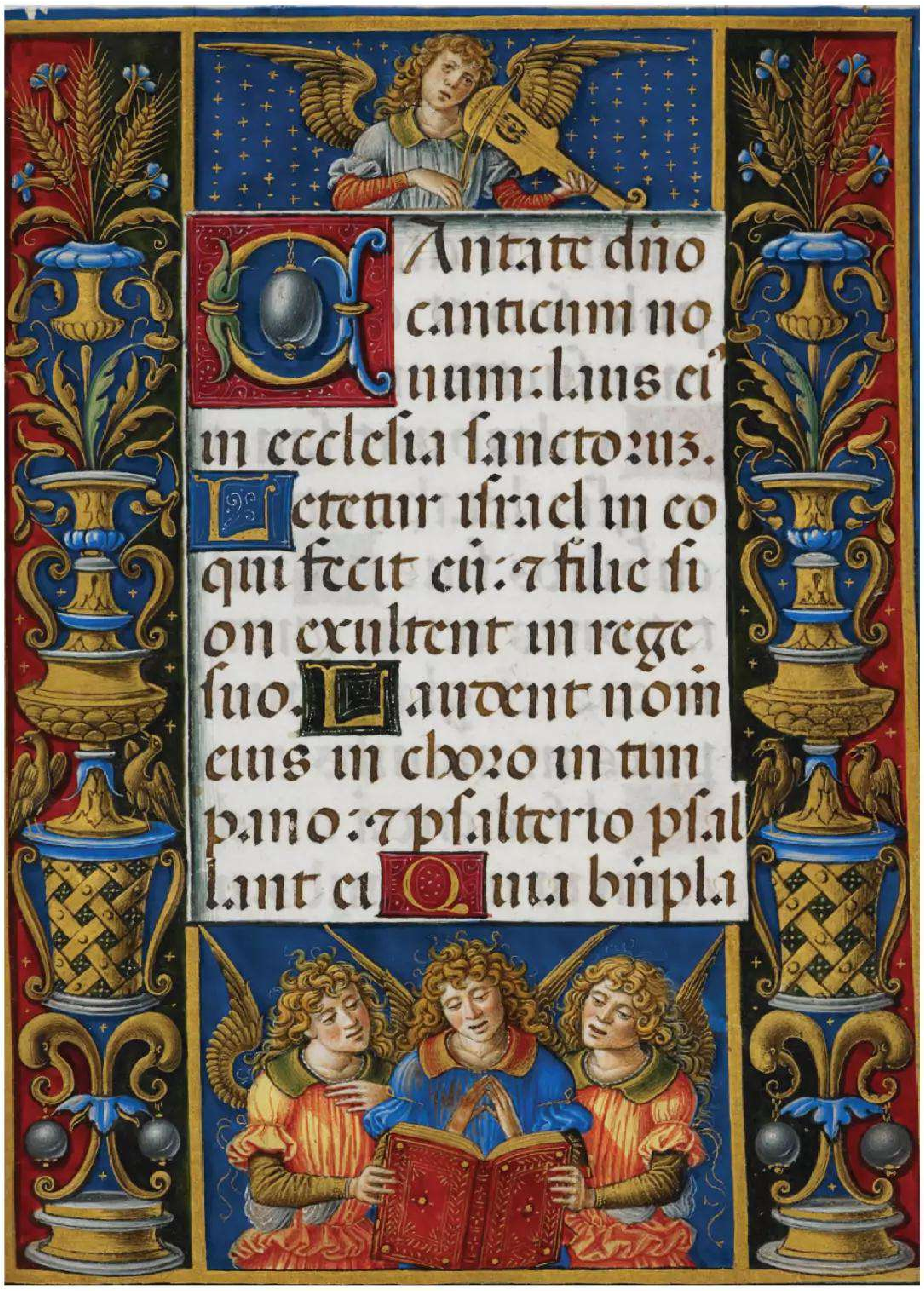
P·VIRGILII MARO
NIS GEORGICON
LIBER·I·
AD MECAENATEM
QVID FAC
AT LAE
TAS SE
GETES:
QVO SIDERE TERRA
Vertere mecaenas: ulmisq. adiungere uites
Conueniat: quae cura boum: quis cultus habendo

THE KING'S VIRGIL

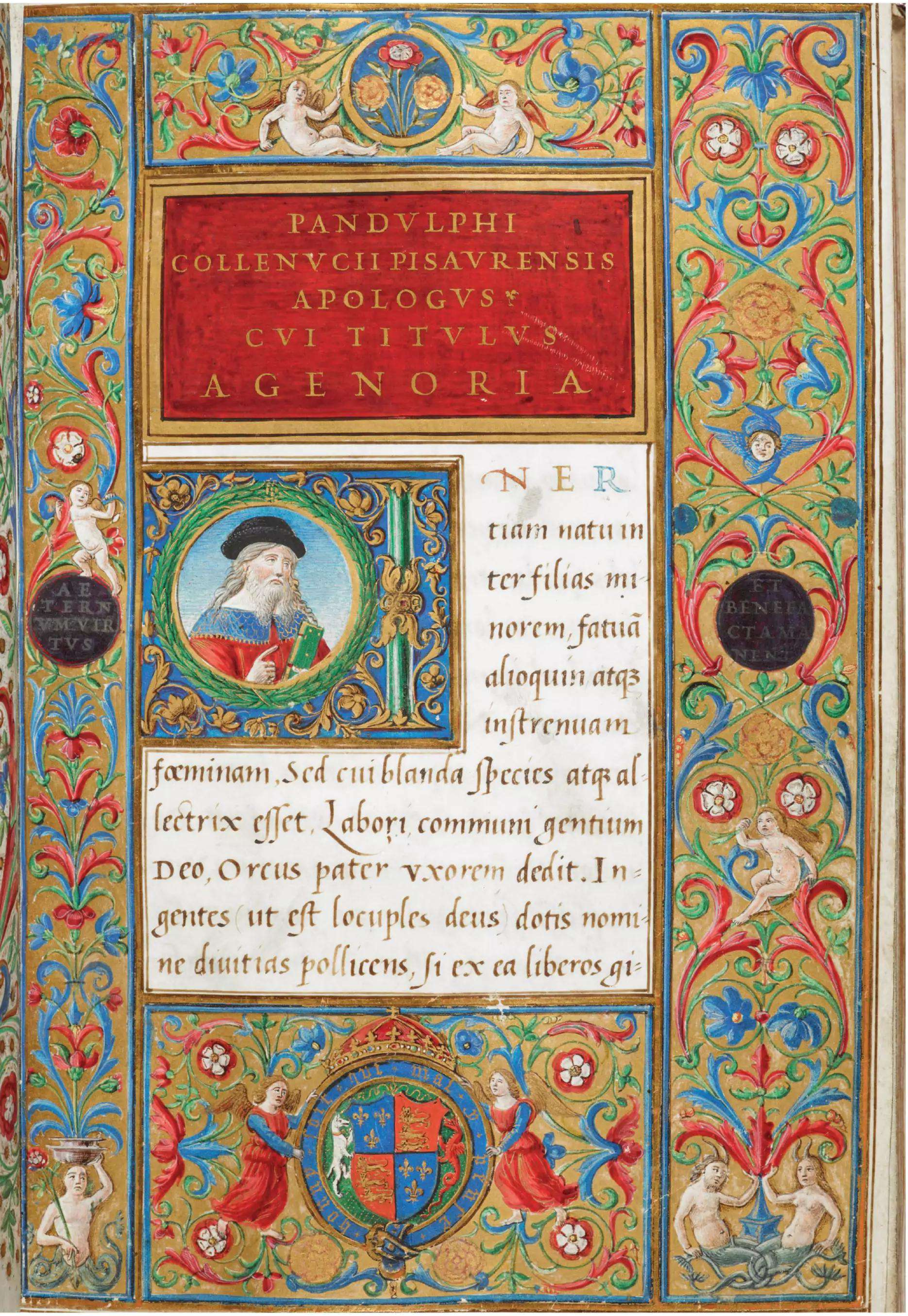
◀ This collection of the works of Virgil was made for Ludovico Agnelli, Bishop of Cosenza, and is a particularly fine example of the work of Paduan scribe Bartolomeo Sanvito. It demonstrates his distinctive colour schemes and characteristic way of writing Roman capitals.

THE SFORZA HOURS

▶ This particular medieval manuscript has a rich and surprising history, spanning multiple centuries. During its creation, a section estimated to be worth 500 ducats was stolen. Much later, in 1871, conservator Sir John Robinson arranged to buy the book from an anonymous Spanish grandee. It is currently held at the British Library.



Cantate dño
canticum no
uum: laus ei
in ecclesia sanctorum.
Letetur israel in eo
qui fecit eu: 7 filie si
on exultent in rege
suo. Laudent nom
eius in choro in tim
pano: 7 psalterio psal
lant ei Quia beñpla



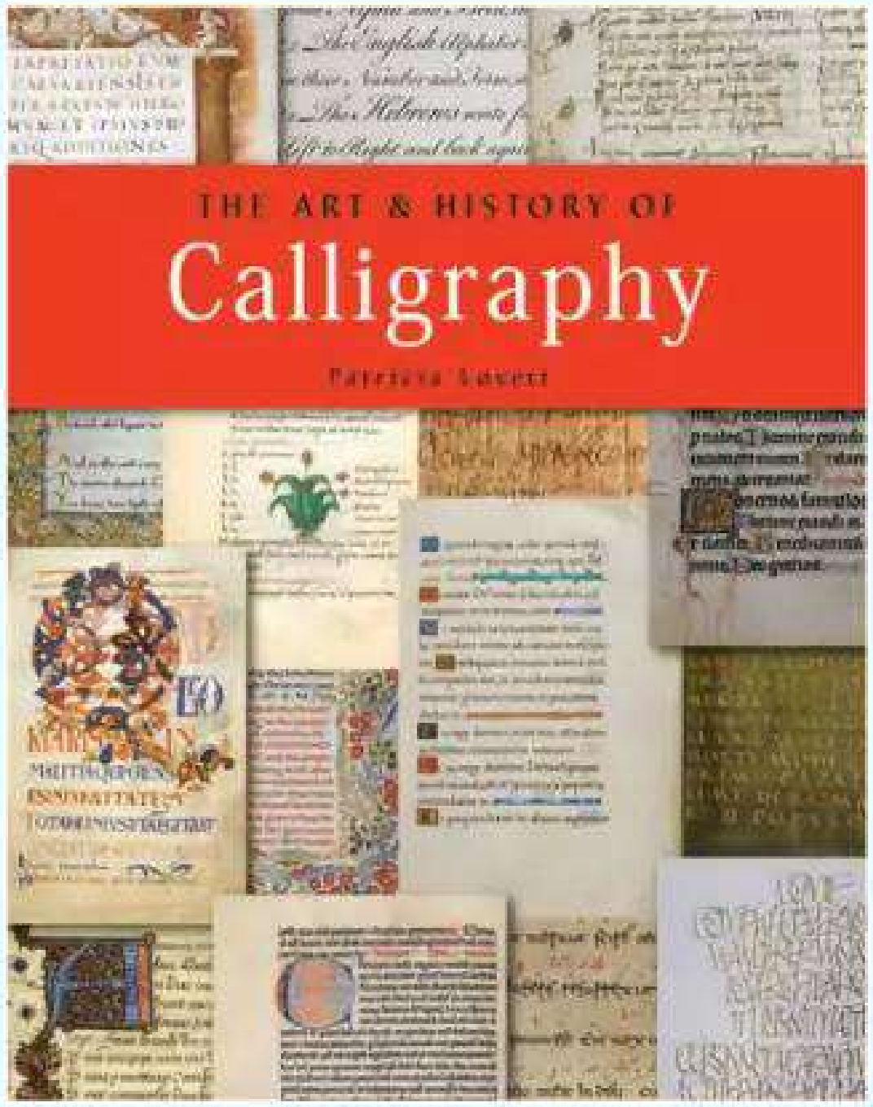
PANDVLPHI
COLLENVCII PISAVRENSIS
APOLOGVS
CVI TITVLVS
AGENORIA

NERtiam natu inter filias minorem, fatuā alioquin atqꝫ inſtrenuam fœminam, Sed cui blanda ſpecies atqꝫ allectrix eſſet, Labori, communi gentium Deo, Orcus pater vxorem dedit. Ingentes (ut eſt locuples deus) dotis nomine diuitias pollicens, ſi ex ea liberos gi-

AETERNVM VIRTVS
ET BENEFACTA MANENT

APOLOGIES AND DIALOGUES

◀ A 16th-century Italian manuscript, it was commissioned by Geoffrey Chambers (surveyor general at the court of Henry VIII) as a gift to the king. It features the Tudor rose (a five-petalled red rose containing a white rose inside) and, at the bottom, Henry's coat of arms.

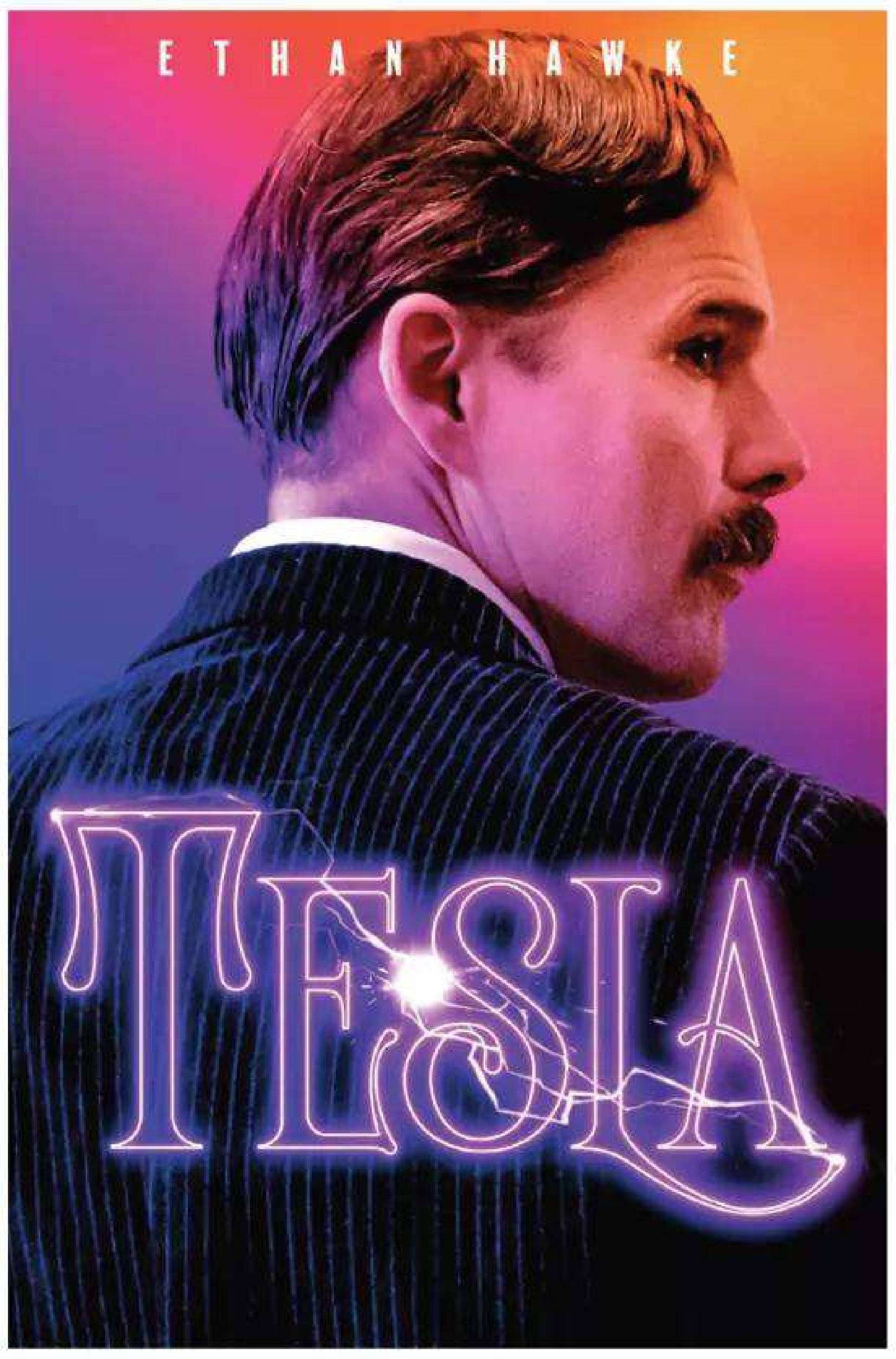


The Art & History Of Calligraphy is available now from the British Library (bl.uk)

REVIEWS

The books, TV shows and films causing a stir in the history world this month

© Lionsgate



TESLA

A biopic that's unlike any you've seen before

Certificate: 12 **Director:** Michael Almereyda **Cast:** Ethan Hawke, Kyle MacLachlan, Hannah Gross, Eve Hewson
Released: Out now

Nikola Tesla (1856-1943) was an unusual man, so it's fitting that this biopic is equally unusual. Compared to other inventors such as rival and former boss Thomas Edison (played brilliantly by Kyle MacLachlan) the Serbian-American visionary has fascinated a raft of artists, filmmakers and writers. He is the ultimate 'mad scientist' figure and somewhat of a rock star of the Victorian and early 20th century (perhaps that's why David Bowie was cast as Tesla in Christopher Nolan's *The Prestige*). If you've heard the name today, it's likely because of the electric car manufacturer named in his honour.

Born in a village in Serbia, like many Tesla ventured to America with nothing in his pockets and big dreams. Director Michael Almereyda's film is both a quirky history lesson and a saturnine character study of a man who went from digging ditches to helping to create the modern world. Played by Ethan Hawke, Tesla is a brooding type who cannot – indeed will not – turn off his brain and enjoy anything pleasurable in life. He doesn't just live for his work, he is his work. They can't be separated. He barely sleeps, doesn't like to explain his methods, nor does he talk like an ordinary human being. Genius can be a prison. All this is impressively put across by Hawke through stiff body language, a gruff voice and asocial encounters highlighting his peculiar habits (he suffered from obsessive-compulsive disorder). Tesla rebuffs attention, women, even friendship.

Uninterested in being a run-of-the-mill drama, *Tesla* is upfront and honest about mixing fact and fiction into a dreamy blur. It often breaks the fourth wall to point out to us scenes that didn't happen in real life (such as the imagined reconciliation between Tesla and Edison). Narrated, or rather presented, by Eve Hewson's Anne Morgan, daughter of JP Morgan, the multi-millionaire industrialist, it's as if she's delivering a lecture or acting as our guide on a museum tour. The result is energetic and amusing.

Almereyda, too, has plenty of visual tricks up his sleeve. Several times, Morgan sits down at a table with an Apple MacBook and Googles Tesla, Edison and George Westinghouse, showing us the number of searches these names of the glorious past generate.

The director also uses painted or photographed blow-ups of landscapes or interiors, lending a delightful theatrical artificiality to proceedings. The pièce de résistance, however, is a *Horrible Histories*-style musical number: Tesla bares his soul in a husky karaoke rendition of Tears For Fears' 1980s banger *Everybody Wants To Rule The World*.

However, if Almereyda has a firm grip on the visuals and performances, the same cannot be said for the pacing and editing. By the time Tesla sings there's a sense the movie is running low on battery and floundering to a finish. Hawke is magnificent, and the revelling in artifice is a creative change from the biopic norm, but it only really works in fits and starts, not as a whole experience. ***MC***

★★★☆☆

Reviews by
Martyn Conterio, Jonathan Gordon, Callum McKelvie

THE SECRET LIFE OF THE SAVOY

A fascinating look at the lives of the family beyond The Savoy hotel, filled with glamour and gossip

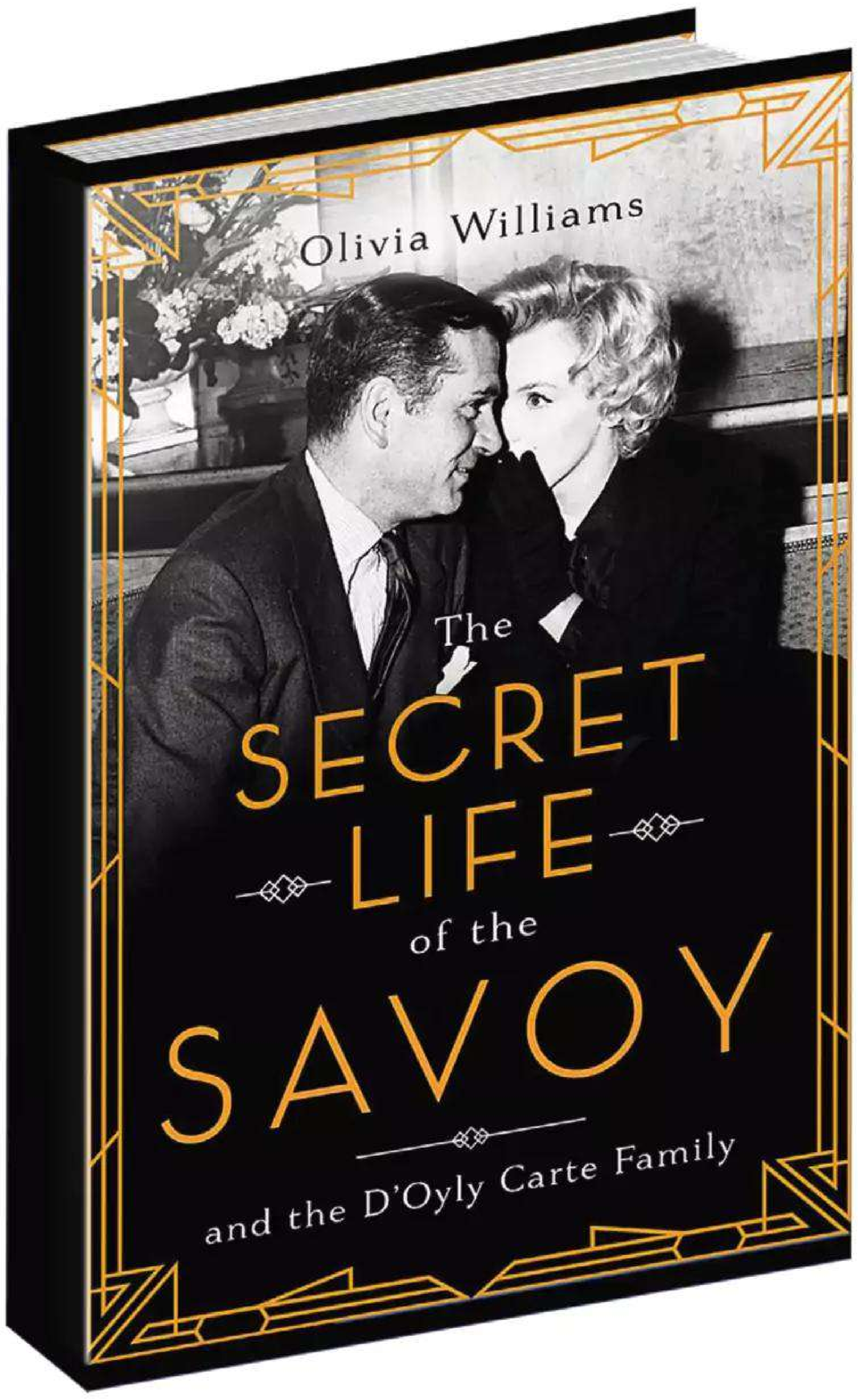
Author Olivia Williams **Publisher** Headline **Price** £20 **Released** Out now

The term 'Savoy', like 'The Ritz', conjures up images of a world of glamour and glitz, stars and starlets, fortune and fame. Yet the story of the D'Oyly Carte family, who founded and ran the hotel and theatre of the same name, is less well-known. Thankfully this is something Olivia Williams has seen fit to correct in her new book *The Secret Life Of The Savoy*.

Williams' prose is superb and reflects the world she's conjuring for us, with a wealth of gossipy tidbits and asides sprinkled throughout the text. She name-drops historical figures and reveals fascinating facts concerning London, for example, mentioning Richard D'Oyly Carte's parents lived in the same house that provided a backdrop to Thomas De Quincey's *Confessions Of An English Opium Eater*. The result is that the book is packed with interesting facts and this, combined with a fun writing style, provides a fantastic sense of atmosphere and colour to make it a real joy to read.

For anyone with the slightest interest in the history of socialising, the theatre or the history of London (among a wealth of other subjects), *The Secret Life Of The Savoy* is an absolute must that cannot come more highly recommended. Presented in gorgeous hardback and with a fabulous cover design emblazoned with a sumptuous gold trim, it would make the perfect Christmas gift. Revealing a world of famous theatres, elegant hotels and high society, Williams' book provides a glimpse into a glamorous bygone era and the lives of one fascinating, charismatic family. ***CM***

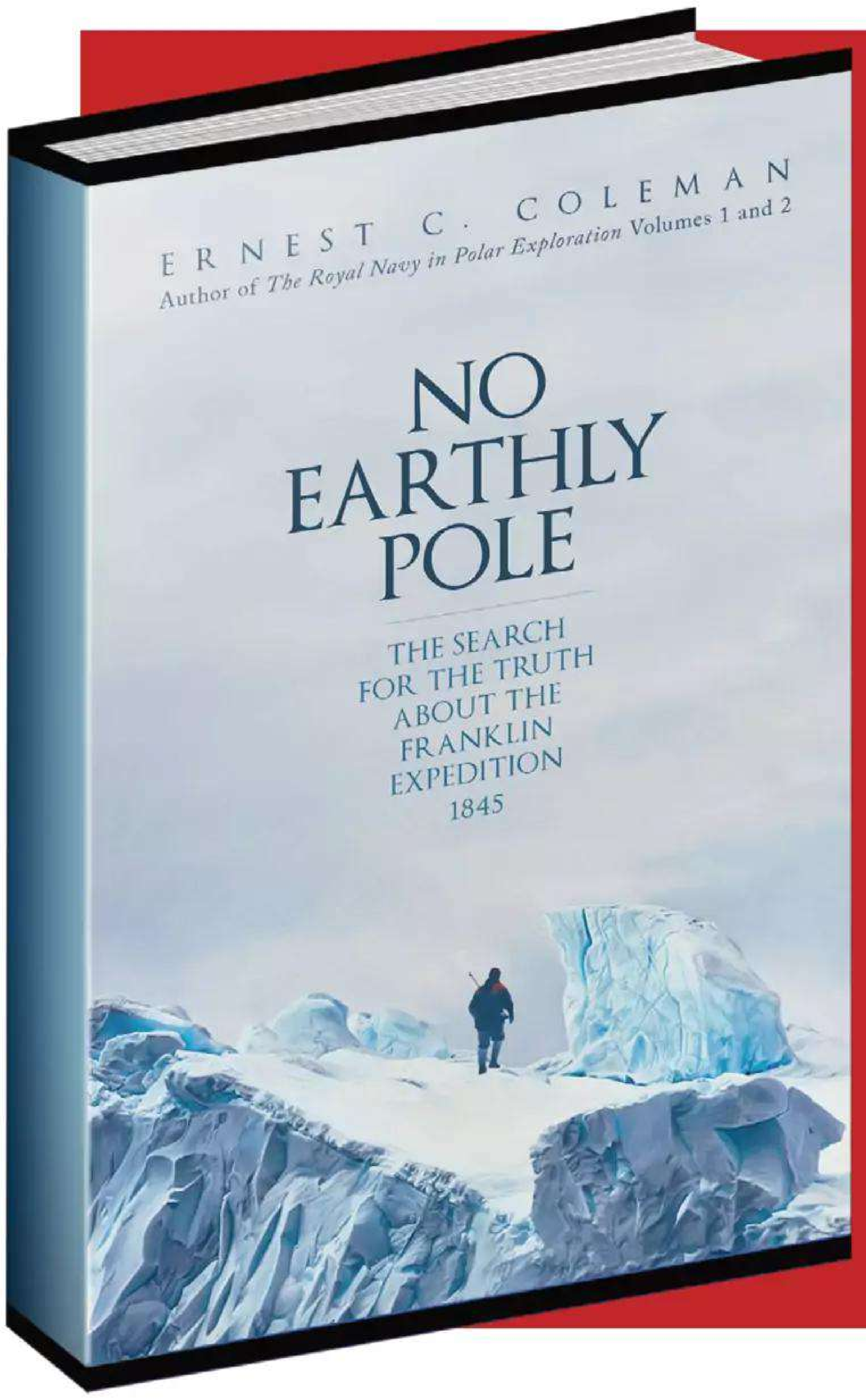
★★★★★



NO EARTHLY POLE

A bold mixture of Arctic travelogue and sassy debate which can't help but entertain, if not always inform

Author Ernest C Coleman **Publisher** Amberly **Price** £25 **Released** Out now



On 19 May 1845, Sir John Franklin set off on HMS Terror and HMS Erebus to locate the Northwest Passage, a route from the Atlantic to the Pacific via the Canadian Arctic. None of the expedition's 129 men returned and the story is one of the great mysteries of Arctic exploration. Its provoked endless debate, and it's this debate (as well as a solo attempt to solve the mystery) that is the subject of Ernest C Coleman's *No Earthly Pole*.

The book is split into two sections. The first is an account of Coleman's own search for Franklin and the second he describes as "an examination of the blizzard of misinformation that carried with it the disparagement and tarnishing of a great enterprise".

Coleman pulls no punches. While occasionally refreshing and always entertaining, he often veers into an arrogance that can be off-putting, taking away from the fact that there is an incredible level of knowledge on display. The writing style is also jarring, regularly missing important exposition. For example, the book opens in the midst of the first expedition, feeling like we lack vital background on Coleman himself, which we never receive.

Unlike Franklin, *No Earthly Pole* does at least succeed in some respects, mostly in the stories surrounding Coleman's three expeditions. In fact, Coleman and his story is more interesting than any of the debate surrounding Franklin that he presents. His tales of clinging to an ATV trailer, travelling across ice and nights beneath the Arctic sky will awaken the explorer in all of us. ***CM***

★★☆☆☆

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HISTORY of WAR RECOMMENDS...

Kamen Nevenkin
FORTRESS BUDAPEST 1-2
Out now!

Fortress Budapest

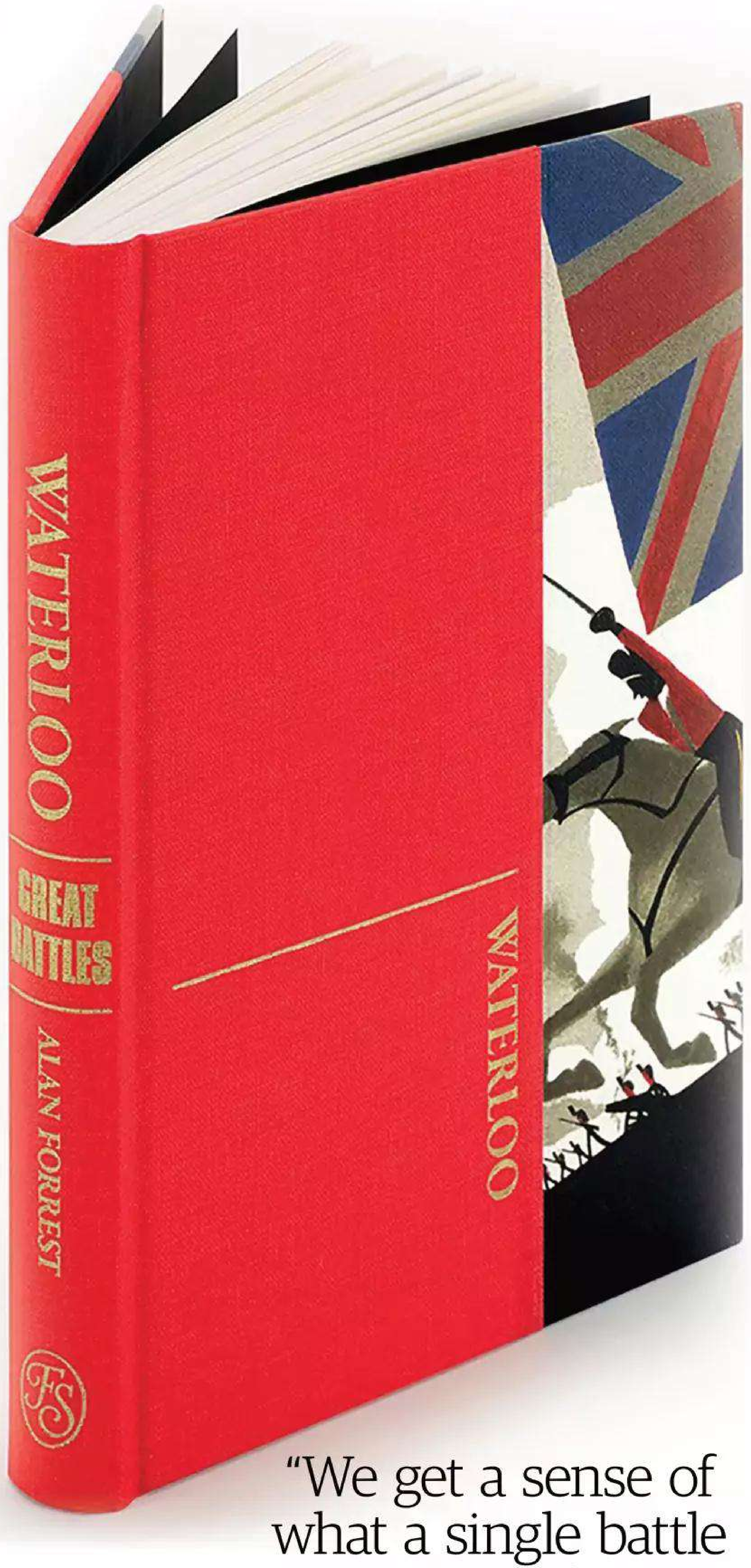
Author Kamen Nevenkin
Price £89.99 **Publisher** PeKo Publishing

Nevenkin paints a complex and in-depth picture of a defining conflict in Hungary's recent history, describing the often desperate defence put up by the combined German-Magyar forces as they vainly tried to hold the Soviets back. What could be a dry history is brought to life by Nevenkin's liberal use of eyewitness testimony from Hungarian, German and Soviet veterans as well as Budapest's residents.

WATERLOO

A fascinating social history of a pivotal battle

Author Alan Forrest **Publisher** Folio Society **Price** £39.95 **Released** Out now



"We get a sense of what a single battle can mean to history"

As Alan Forrest makes clear in his introduction to this book, he's not a military historian and that's precisely why this deep dive into the Battle of Waterloo is so fascinating and rich. Rather than being caught up in the microcosm of events of 18 June 1815, Forrest looks to paint a broader and multinational picture. This is not just the story of Napoleon facing off against the Duke of Wellington (although both are given prominent amounts of ink as their contribution would demand), but of many nations, each with their own reasons for being in Belgium on that day to inflict a final defeat on a would-be emperor. The battle itself takes up only a single 20-page chapter.

Forrest's exploration of the wider cultural impact and legacy of Waterloo is the main focus and is as captivating as his examination of the build up and the day itself. He explains how the battle came to be the launchpad for Britain's global reputation through the 19th century and part of its imperial myth-building, while at the same time it was played down by its equally important partners in Belgium, The Netherlands and Germany. He also looks at Wellington's own recollections of Waterloo that seem so at odds with the collective aura of heroism and noble sacrifice that the famous battle carries with it to this day.

What begins to emerge is a picture of an unusually brutal and attritional battle for the age, although it's an approach that would become all too common in the decades to follow. The concept of winning a conflict through a single battle would gradually fade as warfare itself evolved into more industrialised forms. This is perhaps another reason why Waterloo stands out in modern European history as a rare recent example of one encounter ending in a definitive result, with little need for further negotiation.

Wellington would become something of a reluctant hero at home, later becoming prime minister in 1828, and as Forrest explains the echo of the victory at Waterloo begins to reverberate more and more in the years that followed. Conversely, for the other allies, Waterloo begins to fade from memory as they concentrate more on other key battles from the Napoleonic Wars for their national tales of heroism. So, while the role of Prussia was vital to victory, Waterloo ends up meaning very little to Germany by the outbreak of World War I.

Forrest's approach to Waterloo, considering the social implications of the battle and how it played into the national identities of the parties involved, is an utterly engaging experience. While his synopsis of the battle is brief, it still encompasses all of the key moments and what we get from the book overall is a sense of what a single battle can mean to history. As markers of a certain era, as measuring sticks for national advancement, and as the contests of the great men of their age, battles can be very meaningful indeed. As this book explores, Waterloo is a great example of why that was the case, but also has all of the signs of why that changed in the years to come. ***JG***

★★★★★

HISTORY VS HOLLYWOOD

Fact versus fiction on the silver screen

DOLEMITE IS MY NAME

Director: Craig Brewer **Starring:** Eddie Murphy, Da'Vine Joy Randolph, Craig Robinson **Country:** USA **Released:** 2019

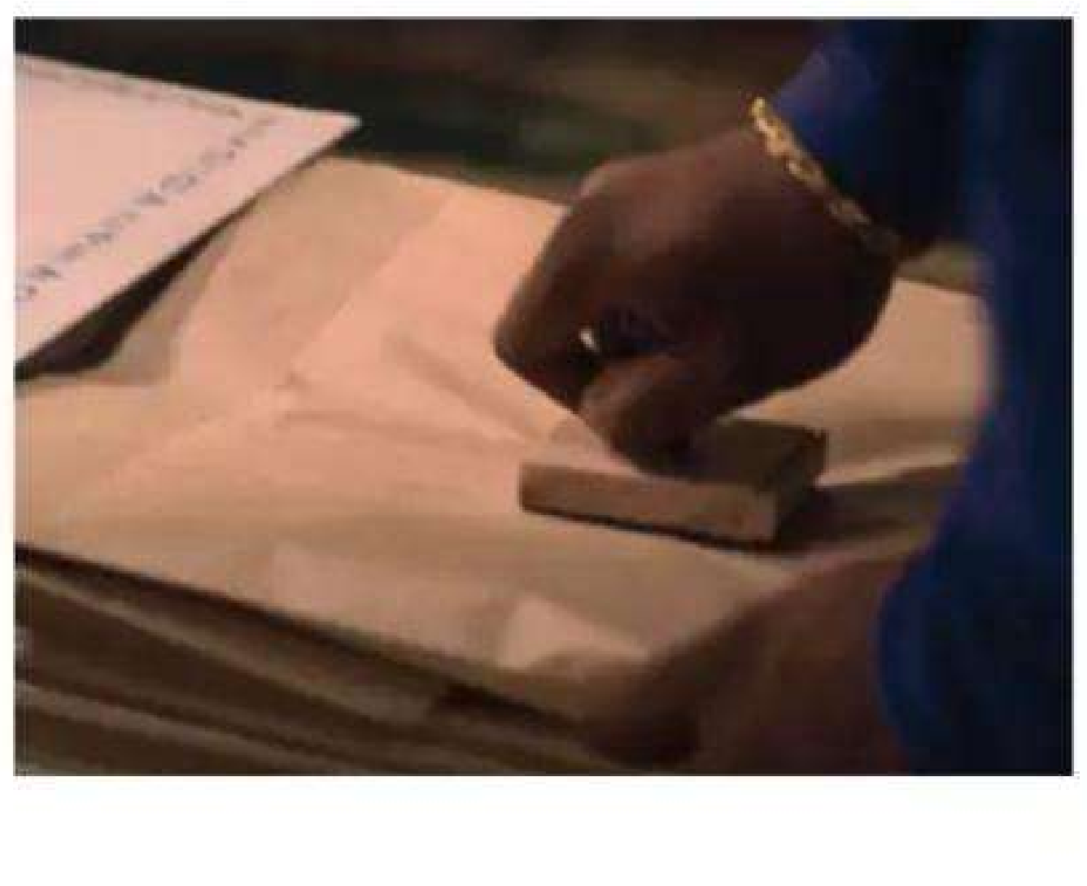
Eddie Murphy stars as real-life Rudi Ray Moore in this comedy biopic, but does it sacrifice fact for funnies?

A

VERDICT: An entertaining biopic that's as funny as it is factual

01 Eddie Murphy plays Rudy Ray Moore, a comic trying to make it big. While working in a record store, the real Moore was inspired by a homeless man who would occasionally visit and tell rhyming jokes. This is where Moore developed the Dolemite persona.

02 After recording a Dolemite comedy album that was deemed too filthy to promote, Moore is forced to sell and promote the album himself. The real albums would be sold in paper bags under the counter so the risqué covers were obscured from view.



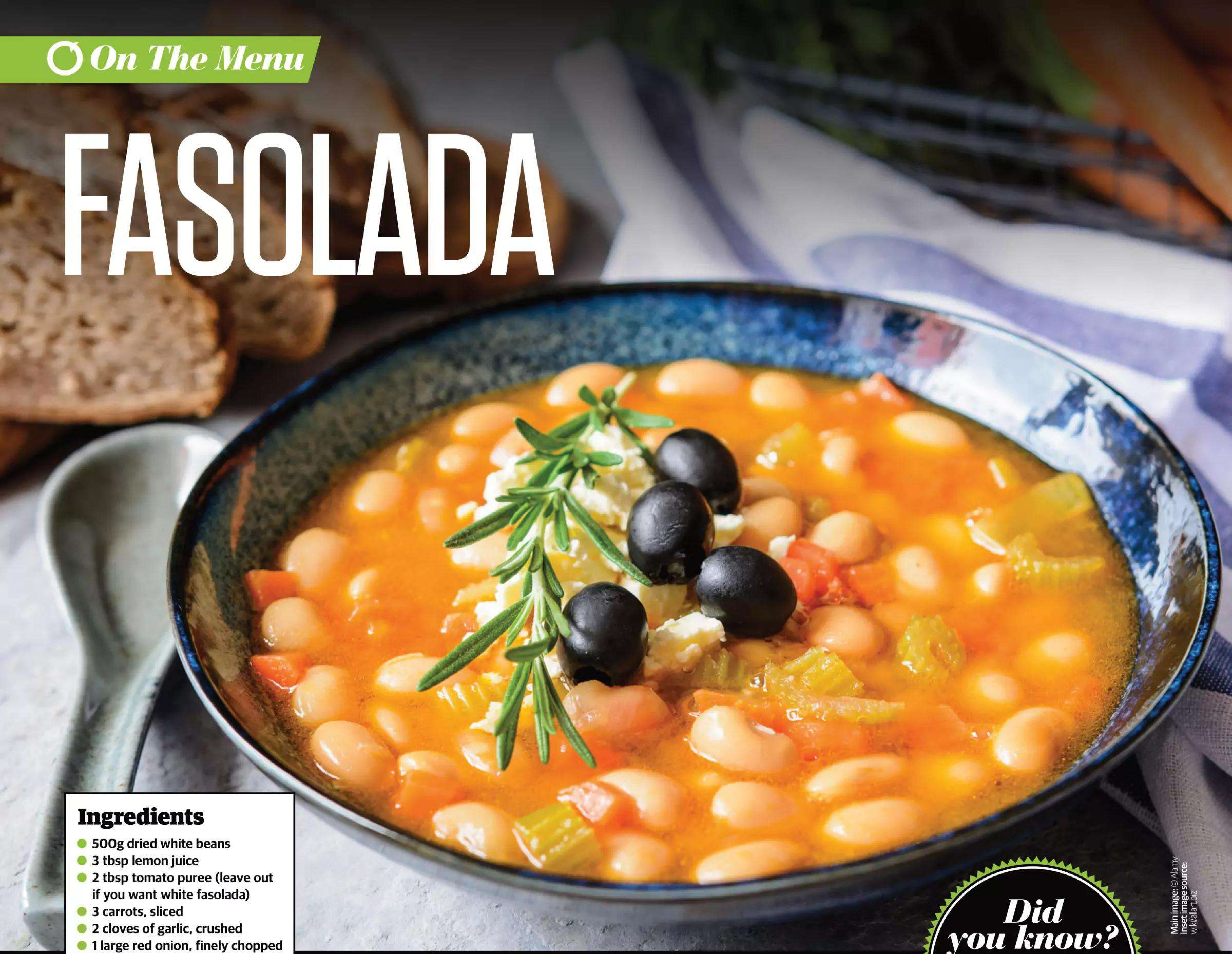
03 After deciding to bring his Dolemite character to the big screen, Moore chooses to finance much of the film himself. This really did happen and the film was shot in a rundown hotel using film students from a local college to make up much of the crew.

04 Wesley Snipes plays D'Urville Martin, an actor who had appeared in *Rosemary's Baby.* He is offered the chance to direct the *Dolemite* movie in return for appearing as antagonist Willie Green – an exchange that actually occurred in real life.

05 At one point, the shooting of a sex scene is turned into a comedy sequence by Moore by giving the appearance of the house collapsing due to Dolemite's 'prowess'. In fact, this scene does not occur in the 1975 *Dolemite* film but its sequel, *The Human Tornado.*

Main image: © Alamy
5x inset image source: Netflix

FASOLADA



Main image: © Alamy
Inset image source: wiki/allart.biz

Ingredients

- 500g dried white beans
- 3 tbsp lemon juice
- 2 tbsp tomato puree (leave out if you want white fasolada)
- 3 carrots, sliced
- 2 cloves of garlic, crushed
- 1 large red onion, finely chopped
- 1 celery stalk, finely chopped

To serve:

- Kalamata olives
- Feta cheese
- Crusty bread

A STAPLE IN EVERY GREEK HOUSEHOLD

GREECE, 800 BCE – PRESENT

Did you know?

Fasolada is one of Greece's six national dishes

Fasolada, a classic white bean soup, dates all the way back to Ancient Greece. The soup's name derives from the word 'fasoli', which means 'beans' in English. It was associated with the Pyanopsia festival, which was held around late-October in Athens in honour of the Greek god Apollo. As part of the festival, a dish of boiled beans, vegetables and grains was prepared, eaten and offered to Apollo. Fasolada was also a popular and nutritious meal during WWII, when only beans and herbs were available, and it has remained a beloved dish ever since. Although white fasolada is the traditional version, a red fasolada made with chopped tomatoes or tomato puree is often made today.

METHOD

01 Add the white beans to a bowl, cover them with cold water and leave them to soak overnight. The next day, rinse the beans and bring a saucepan of water to the boil. Add the beans to the saucepan, place the lid on and boil them for 15 minutes.

02 Drain the beans and set them aside. Next, place a deep saucepan or pot over medium heat, add some olive oil and sauté the onion and garlic until they have softened. Then add in the carrots and celery and cook them for a few minutes until they too are soft.

03 Stir in the tomato puree and then add the beans back into the pot, along with the lemon juice. Pour in enough water to cover the ingredients and bring to the boil, cooking on a high heat for five minutes.

04 Reduce the heat, cover the pot and let the fasolada simmer for 1½ to two hours, stirring occasionally. If the soup becomes too thick then add a little more water. A few minutes before the soup is done, add some salt and pepper.

05 The soup is ready once the beans are nice and tender. Ladle into bowls and serve with a side of crusty bread, Kalamata olives and feta cheese. You can even add the olives and cheese on top of the fasolada if you wish!

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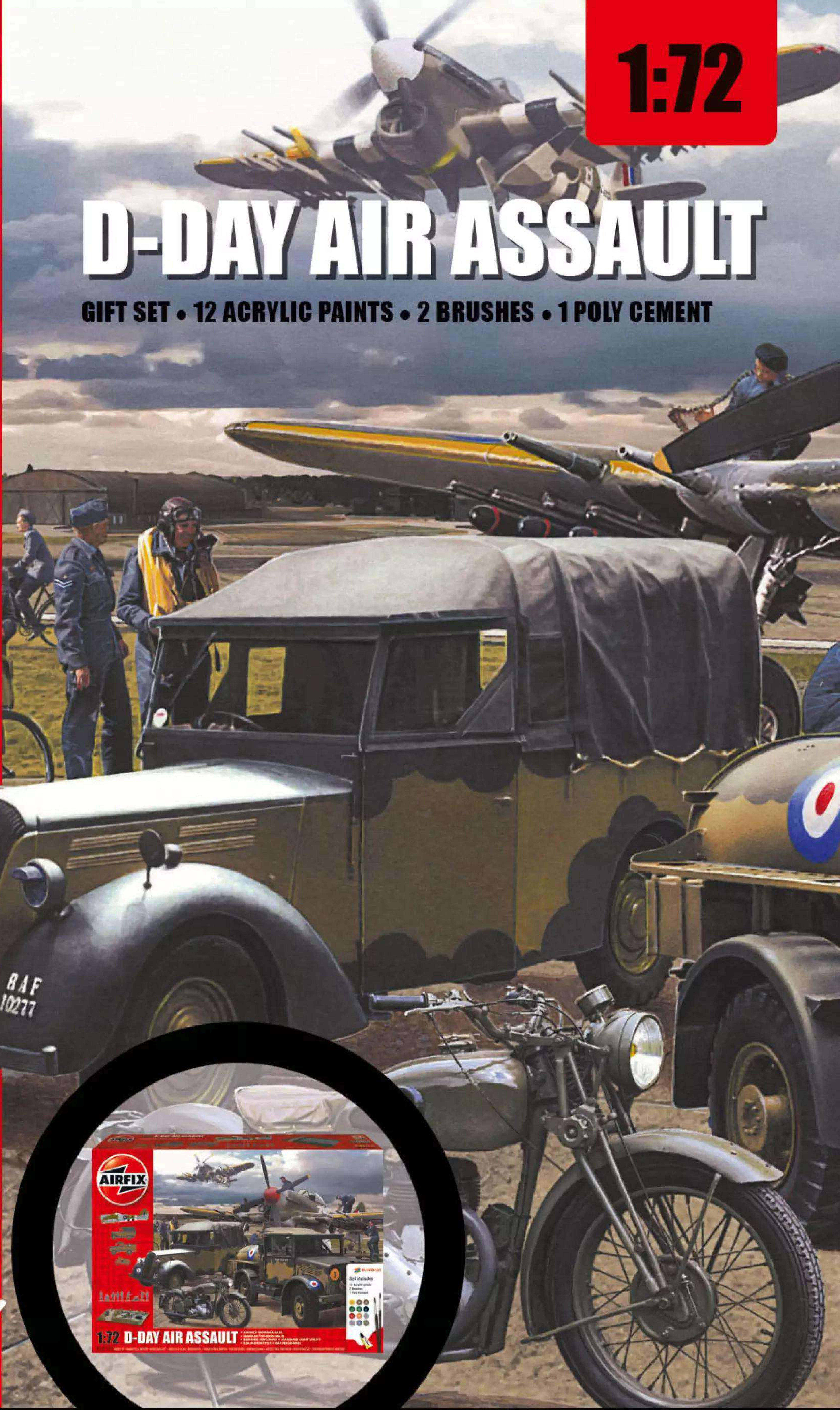

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- RAF PERSONNEL

Supported by the United States and Canada as well as troops from the then occupied nations, the 6th of June marked the Western Allies return to France after the humiliation of the evacuation from Dunkirkin 1940.
The invasion required the Allies to hold total air superiority over the Normandy landing grounds. The lead up to the day had seen thousands of sorties carried out by Allied aircraft. From heavy bombers relentlessly pounding targets of strategic importancein France, to fighter bombers such as the Hawker Typhoon that attacked enemy troop formations and smaller targets, the Allied air assault was total. Due to the distance from Normandy to the UK, once the Allies had a foothold on the French coast, small temporary airfields were immediately established which gave the Allies the opportunity to fly more sorties and to be closer to the action. Some of these airfields were so close to the frontline they suffered mortar attacks. These airfields were to prove their worth, and with the help of Allied airpower Hitler's armies were pushed further and further back, culminating in the defeat of Nazi Germany just eleven months later.

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